THE TEMPLATE FOR THE BREAK WITH TRADITION IN THE DECORATION PROGRAM OF THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI WAS THE OSIREION AT ABYDOS

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There is a remarkable similarity between the decoration program in the subterranean Osireion and that of the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9), although architecturally the structures are quite different. The Osireion is L-shaped with its long Entrance Passage, Antechamber and Annex on a notional west to east axis mirroring the nocturnal course of the sun god (Fig. 1). Its axial alignment to Rigel, the "toe

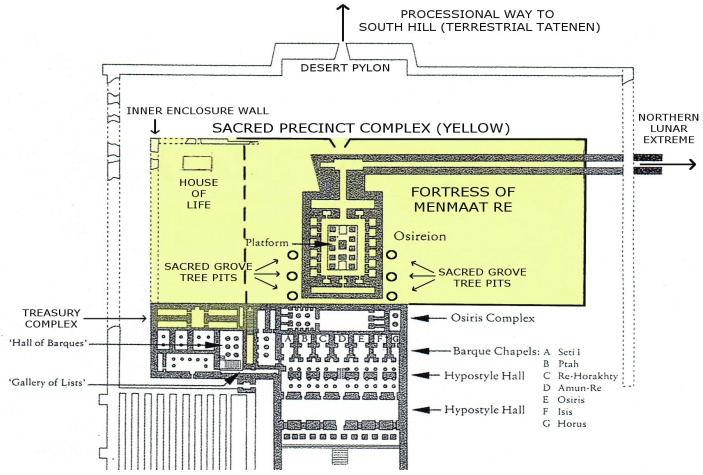


Fig. 1 Osireion at Abydos: Plan (after O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris 2009, 47)

star" of the constellation Orion is such that when this star crosses the meridian it points to the place along the horizon where the heliacal rising of Sirius/Sothis will occur.[1] This event marked the beginning of the Egyptian New Year and heralded the coming of the Nile inundation, the life giving efflux of Osiris. The Sloping Passage and Central Hall of the Osireion are on a notional south to north axis mirroring the annual course of the sun from winter solstice to summer solstice. From its "birth" on the winter solstice, the day steadily grows longer until its peak at the time of the summer solstice. Its axial alignment copied that of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Colonnade Hall in Luxor Temple, where the scenes of the royal Opet Festival are inscribed and the renewal of kingship is highlighted.[2] The

1 For the analysis of this alignment see C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos Code Book and Source Document for the Birth House of Isis (2023), 97, 218, 306, and especially 706-8. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

2 By his actions Seti had taken a keen interest in the Colonnade in Luxor Temple built by Amenhotep III and largely decorated by Tutankhamun. "It was Seti I who undertook the final carving of the interior of the Colonnade Hall, completing the ritual scenes before the barques in Luxor Temple and the southern walls of the Hall." Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall OIP 112 (1994), xvii. https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/epigraphic-survey

importance of this same alignment should not be dismissed. Of the many hundreds of pharaonic temples and tombs built, they are the only two royal structures that have that same alignment. [3] The Colonnade Hall also runs parallel to the Nile, source of the efflux of Osiris. The Luxor Temple complex is on a notional north to south axis reflecting the other half of the annual solar journey from summer to winter solstice and completes the annual cycle. [4]

KV 9, the tomb of Ramesses V-VI, is essentially on a single axis running from east to west with a slight skewing of the axis to the left (south) after corridor D (Fig. 2). The east to west axis follows the daily course of the sun which leads to the realm of the Ruler of the West, Ramesses VI as Osiris. "The dromos of access to the tomb of Ramesses VI, fifth king of the 20th Dynasty, showing that the horizon, far from being open, is actually being obscured by the cliffs of the hills above Deir el Bahari. This precludes its possible orientation to the rising of Sirius at the time of construction. However, the

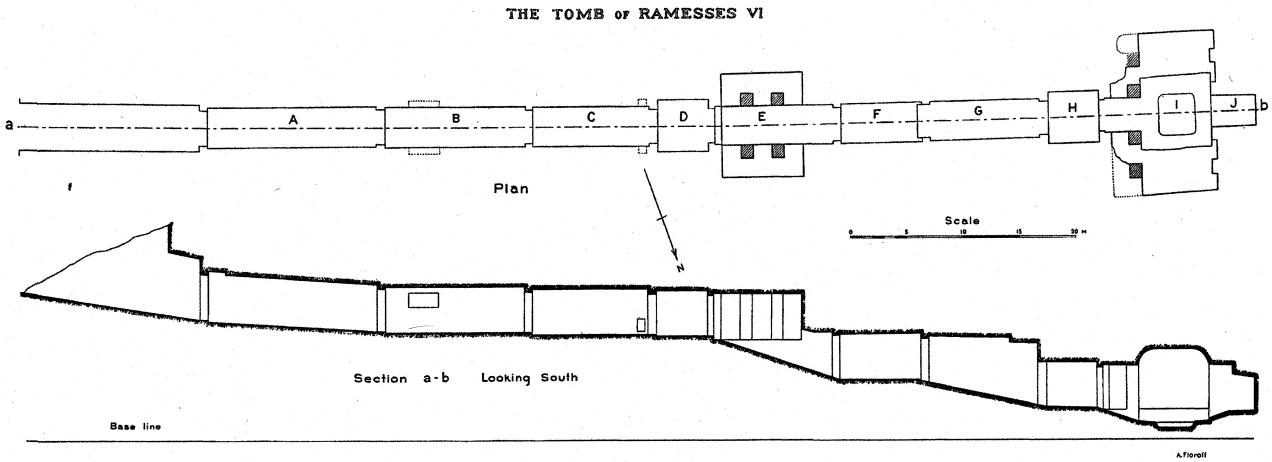


Fig. 2. *The Tomb of Ramesses VI: Plan and Section*

central asterism of the constellation of Sah ['Orion's Belt'] would have been visible in that area of the sky in the correct period." [5] This is significant because it ties the tomb's axial orientation to the constellation Orion, the stellar manifestation of Osiris, and thus to the alignment of the Osireion itself.

3 With the sole exception of a small Roman structure built inside of the enclosure walls of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years in Gurna on the West bank. See J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 348-349.

4 It should be noted here that the decoration programs of both the Luxor Colonnade and the Osireion chambers symbolically could be equated to the complete annual solar cycle from winter solstice to the summer solstice and the return. In the Colonnade both the procession to Karnak Temple and the return start and end at the southern end of the Colonnade. In the Osireion, the ritual progression can be determined by the retrograde reading of the texts. They begin at the upper end of the Sloping Passage on the left wall and conclude on the right wall at the upper notional eastern end of the Antechamber, the eastern akhet, in the notional south, the place of the winter solstice sunrise.

5 Belmonte, Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 300, fig. 9.14. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Belmonte

It should also be noted that the "orientation [of the tombs of Ramesses IV and Ramesses VI] is so similar, despite the distance between them within the Valley [of the Kings], that it is difficult to ascribe it to pure chance. Although unfinished, these tombs show a similar gradient that would have permitted solar or stellar light [from Orion's Belt] to reach the burial chamber." [6] Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the decoration for the tomb of Ramesses IV (KV 2) also drew heavily from that of the Osireion, notably the Book of Nut and is the only tomb to have used this composition in the Valley of the Kings. It is paired with the Book of the Night on the ceiling of the Sarcophagus Chamber, [7] mimicking the ceiling design found only in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion in Abydos and nowhere else. Sections of the Book of Caverns and the Book of Gates as well as BD 125 were also used, all key elements of the decoration program in the Osireion.

In his study on the tomb of Ramesses VI, Abitz recognized that the decoration program was so significantly different from those of its predecessors that he considered it a break with tradition. [8] The cannon of decoration for the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which was established by Seti I seemed to have been almost obligatory and was used in seven royal tombs constructed over a 140 year period. [9] Abitz provided a detailed comparison of the differences in these tombs and KV 9. [10] He also briefly mentions some of the Netherworld Books in the Osireion, pointing out that many of them found their way into the tomb of Ramesses VI. Oddly, Abitz did not note the presence of the cryptographic texts and partial scene from the Books of the Earth in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, (Fig. 25) because they occupy such a prominent position in the Sarcophagus Chamber in Ramesses VI's tomb, which like the Second Transverse Hall is the final room of his tomb. [11] Had he recognized the significance of the presence of the traces of the Book of the Earth texts and vignette on the west (notional south) wall, he may have realized that the source of and template for Ramesses VI's "break with tradition" was none other than the Osireion itself! This too was the design of Seti I.

The basis for my conclusion that the template for the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI was that of the Osireion is straightforward, so straightforward, in fact, that I am quite surprised that it has not been recognized before. It is the order in which the same Netherworld Books appear in both structures. The correspondence of the use of the exact same Underworld Books in essentially the same order is not accidental or a coincidence. The comparison is outlined in the Table. Ramesses VI copied the decoration program of the Osireion and modified it slightly for use in his tomb. To be sure, there are differences which are discussed below and detailed in Appendix A of my Study of the Osireion at Abydos. They are a result of the different functions of the two structures – subterranean temple and cult center vs. royal tomb.

6 Belmonte, Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 298-299 and fig. 9.13.
https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Belmonte

7 E. Hornung, "The Tomb of Rameses IV" in K. Weeks (ed.) Valley of the Kings (2001), 242-243.

8 F. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI (1989), 172, 178. https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/150956/

9 Ibid., 172. https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/150956/

10 Ibid., 98-186. He omitted the tomb of Ramesses IV (KV 2) so as not to influence Hornung's study in preparation at the time.
https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/150956/

11 The vignette from the Book of the Earth was identified by Piankoff some years earlier in his book, Le Creation du Disque solaire (1953) https://archive.org/details/BdE-19 which is listed in Abitz's bibliography, 196. https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/150956/

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI TO THE OSIREION

DESCRIPTION	TOMB OF RAMESSES VI	OSIREION
Offering Scene to Re-Horakhti and Osiris	Corridor A Opening Scenes	Entrance Passage Opening Scenes
Book of Gates	Corridors A, B, C, D, Hall E (left)	Entrance Passage (right)
Book of Caverns	Corridors A, B, C, D, Hall E (right)	Entrance Passage (left)
Book of the Heavenly Cow	Corridor C niche (left)	2nd Transverse Hall (?)
Ramesside Star Clocks/ Star Tables	Corridors A, B and Hall E	Entrance Passage (?) and Sloping Passage
Astronomical Scenes	Corridors A, B and Hall E	Entrance Passage and Central Hall (?)
Book of the Night	Corridors C, D and Hall E/ Sarcophagus Chamber	1st and 2nd Transverse Halls Entrance Passage (?)
Book of the Day	Corridors C, D and Hall E/ Sarcophagus Chamber	1st Transverse Hall (?) Entrance Passage
Double Enshrined Osiris	Hall E (rear wall)	Antechamber and Door to Sloping Passage
Amduat	Corridors F and G	Central Hall (?)
Solar Barques – Diagrams	Corridor F	At Entrance to Central Hall (?)
Litany of Re	Corridor G (related composition)	Central Hall Architraves
Hall of Two Truths	Hall H	1st Transverse Hall
BD 125 'Negative Confession'	Hall H	Sloping Passage (at the end)
The Awakening of Osiris	Hall H	2nd Transverse Hall
Books of the Earth	Sarcophagus Chamber	2nd Transverse Hall
Book of Nut	Omitted	2nd Transverse Hall

Both structures' decoration begin in the same fashion. The actual decoration is preceded by an undecorated corridor at their entrances. It is followed by the opening scenes which depict the king making offerings on one wall and an invocation on the other to both the falcon-headed Re-Horakhti and Osiris. [12]

The opening scenes are followed by complete versions of the Book of Gates on one wall and the Book of Caverns on the opposite wall. The depictions of the king in these two compositions serve to highlight the different functions for the Osireion and that of the royal tomb. In the Book of Caverns in the Osireion, the king is shown with the nocturnal ram-headed sun god entering the first cavern in his role as the chief ritualist, the living Horus. He is also depicted inside the first cavern greeting the arriving sun god. [13] In the royal tomb the king is not shown accompanying nor greeting the sun god in the Book of Caverns. In the Osireion version of the Book of Gates, the king is depicted in the solar barque offering the figure of Maat to the sun god as he accompanies him through each of the twelve gates and hours of the night (Fig. 3). In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the king is not depicted in the solar

Fig. 3 Book of Gates King in the Solar Barque Sixth Hour scene 37 Osireion
Photo courtesy of Soloegipto

barque at all. [14] (Fig. 4). He can no longer act in his capacity as the living Horus and chief ritualist as he does in the Osireion. However, the king's cartouches do appear before every gate in the royal tomb. While in the Osireion the king's name appears occasionally in the Book of Gates other than in the night barques, it is not at the gates. The king's name at the gates in the royal tomb undoubtedly represents the changed status of the now deceased king, who through the funerary rituals has been transfigured into Osiris. Now the gates are his as Osiris Ramesses VI and for his protection.

12 Ramesses VI altered the Osireion scene of offering Maat to the falcon-headed son of Osiris preceding the Book of Caverns to offering to a falcon-headed Re-Horakhti and Osiris. See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), 5.2. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

13 See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 4.3. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

14 Nor is the king depicted in the solar barque in the eleven hours of Amduat in his tomb for the same reason.

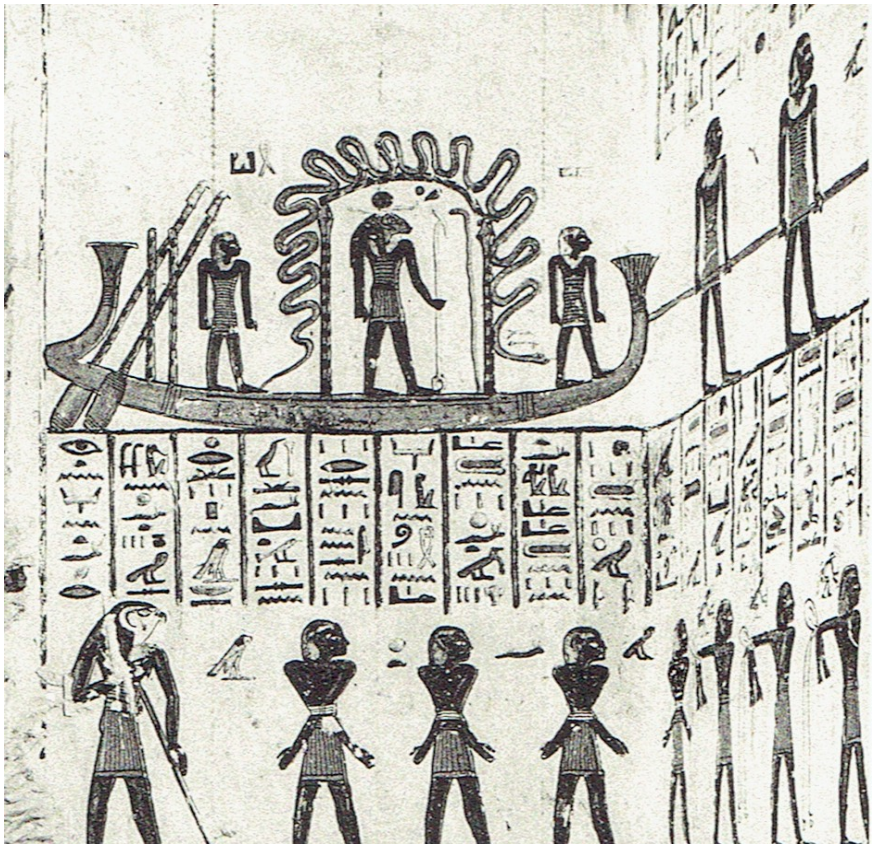


Fig. 4 Book of Gates Ninth Hour detail Solar Barque
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 54

The different axial alignments of the two structures necessitated a change in position. [15] In order to maintain the proper orientation of the Book of Gates to the winter solstice in the royal tomb, the composition had to be placed on the left wall instead of the right wall as it is found in the Osireion. The final scenes of the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns are at the end of the Entrance Passage. In the tomb of Ramesses VI both compositions end at the rear of Hall E as do the Books of the Day and the Night on the ceiling. It should be noted that it is unusual for the ceiling decoration to span more than a single corridor, hall or chamber. Yet the decoration of corridors C, D and Hall E in the tomb of Ramesses VI does just that as is also the case in corridors A and B. [16] While it is less uncommon to find compositions like the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns to be spaced throughout multiple chambers, it is highly unusual to find complete and sequentially ordered ones spanning multiple corridors let alone four corridors and a hall. It is as if it was copied from the original in some very long

15 The azimuth of the Entrance Passage to the Osireion is 306 degrees, whereas, the tomb of Ramesses VI is 110.25 degrees. See J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 297 and 348. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Belmonte

16 The Books of the Day and of the Night span corridors C, D and Hall E. The astronomical scenes and decan lists ("Ramesside Star Clocks") are in corridors A and B and repeated again on the sides of the ceiling of Hall E.

passage like that of the Entrance Passage of the Osireion which itself is two meters longer than Ramesses VI's entire tomb, thus forcing Ramesses' artisans to utilize the ceiling and wall space of four corridors and one hall in the royal tomb. [17] The point being that the decoration of corridors A through Hall E were not designed for that tomb, but rather adapted for its use there. The only source available during the reign of Ramesses VI for the complete Book of Caverns was the Osireion. No other copy is known to have existed. Furthermore, it is paired with a complete copy of the Book of Gates just as it is reproduced in Ramesses VI's tomb.

On the rear wall of Hall E above the descending corridor F to the second half of the tomb, the lower duat, is a double scene of the king burning incense to Osiris. The back to back enthroned figures of Osiris are depicted in a double shrine (Fig. 5). This arrangement although abbreviated corresponds to the decoration program and themes in the Antechamber of the Osireion. [18] The inscriptions under the roofs of the right and left shrines connect them because they relate directly to the two key events that will unfold in the Antechamber of the Osireion, the recreation of the first sunrise of the first occasion, *zp tpj*, and the rites for the Blacked-out Moon that lead to its restoration as the living Udjat-eye in the night sky.

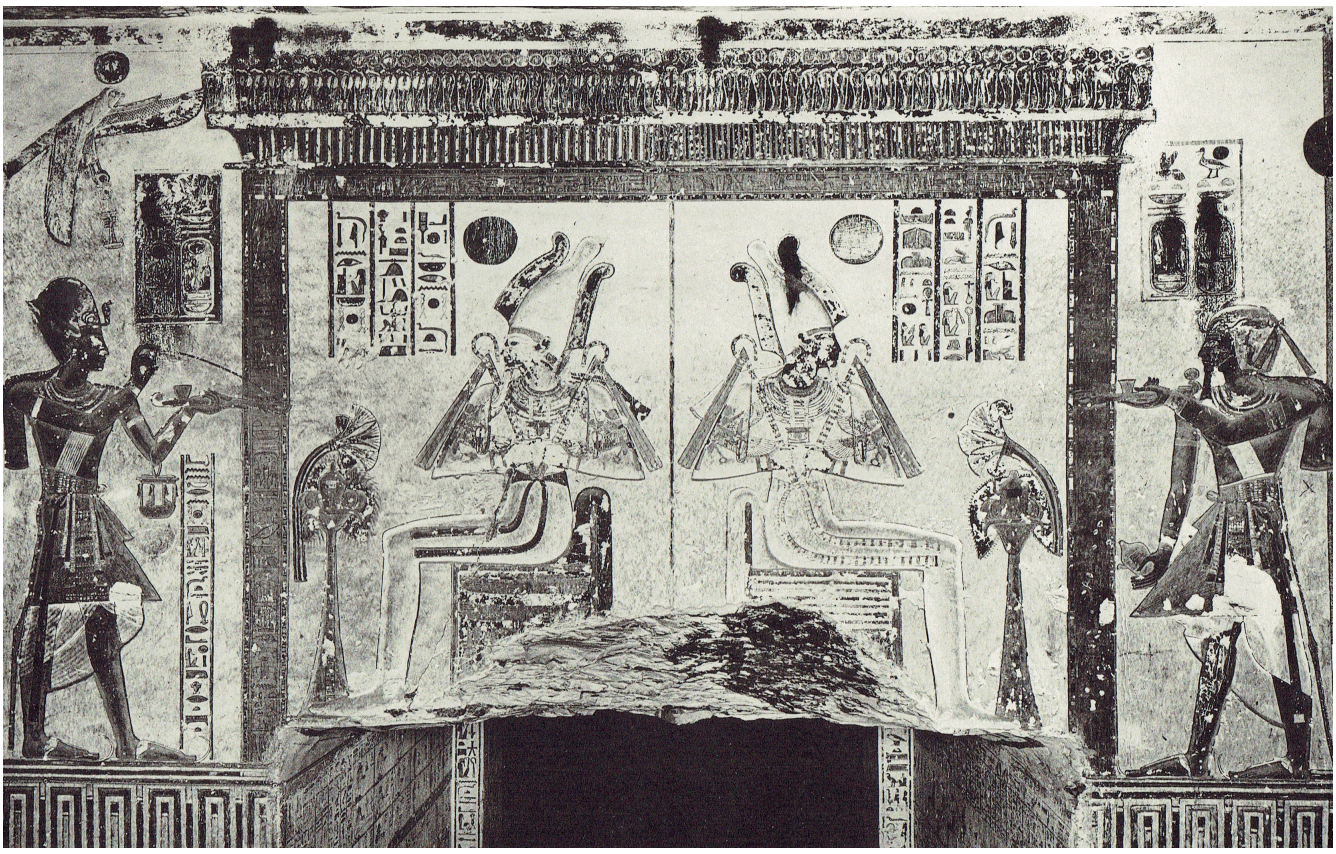


Fig. 5 Antechamber Equivalent Osiris Double Shrine Rear Wall Hall E
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 35

17 The length of the Entrance Passage is 118.5 m. (390 ft.) including the 32 m. (105 ft.) of undecorated mud brick. The tomb of Ramesses VI is 116.84 m. (383 ft.) according to the Theban Mapping Project's survey. www.thebanmappingproject.com

18 See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 4.5. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

"Right Shrine:
Live the Great God, the eldest of Geb [Osiris],
the first (born) of the belly of Nut [Osiris and also Re].
Divine Youth, Divine Heir of *nḥḥ* [as the new born sun god],
Noble Son of He who is in his disk [Son of Re],
the justified one [lit. true of voice].

Left Shrine:
Live the Good God, the eldest of Re,
Protector of He in the Horizon,
the living Udjat-eye,
who rests in the Netherworld [duat]
[at the time of the Blacked-out Moon]..." [19]

The living Udjat-eye who rests in the duat immediately follows the conclusion of the Book of Gates linking it to this composition further supporting Manassa's lunar interpretation for it. [20] It may also connect to the Osireion's Annex texts of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168), part of the rites for the New Moon behind the enshrined Osiris.

The standing king is depicted twice burning incense before the enthroned Osiris. The shrine on the right corresponds and equates to the notional southern wall in the Antechamber of the Osireion which is in tact. (Figs. 5, 6, 7) In a like fashion although more elaborate, the standing

Fig. 6 Osireion Antechamber King Burning Incense for Osiris
Photo courtsey of Soloegipto

19 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 24 and plate 35. Because this text comes from the king's own tomb, the deceased king referred to as the Good God, is emphasized by intermingling him with both Osiris and Re.

20 See C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (1995), 180, 210-213 www.academia.edu/323263/ published edition; C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 109-150. www.academia.edu/323244/

Fig. 7 Osireion Antechamber Enthroned Osiris Foremost of the Westerners
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Osireion_at_Abydos_(V).jpg

king burns incense and makes offerings to an enthroned Osiris who is here called Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners. My reconstruction for the destroyed notional north wall expresses the same concepts as in the left shrine scene in Hall E, the one that refers to the living Udjat-eye, but again differing from the ritual cycles in the Osireion. On the first part of the wall would have been depicted the standing figure of the king again burning incense and making offerings before the door of the shrine of Osiris, just as he is depicted on the notional southern wall opposite it (Fig. 6). But here as in Hall E the king is wearing the blue crown just as he appears further along in the third ritual cycle in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion (Fig. 8). Here too the sign of the *ḥb-sd* may have been attached to his elbow (Fig. 5).

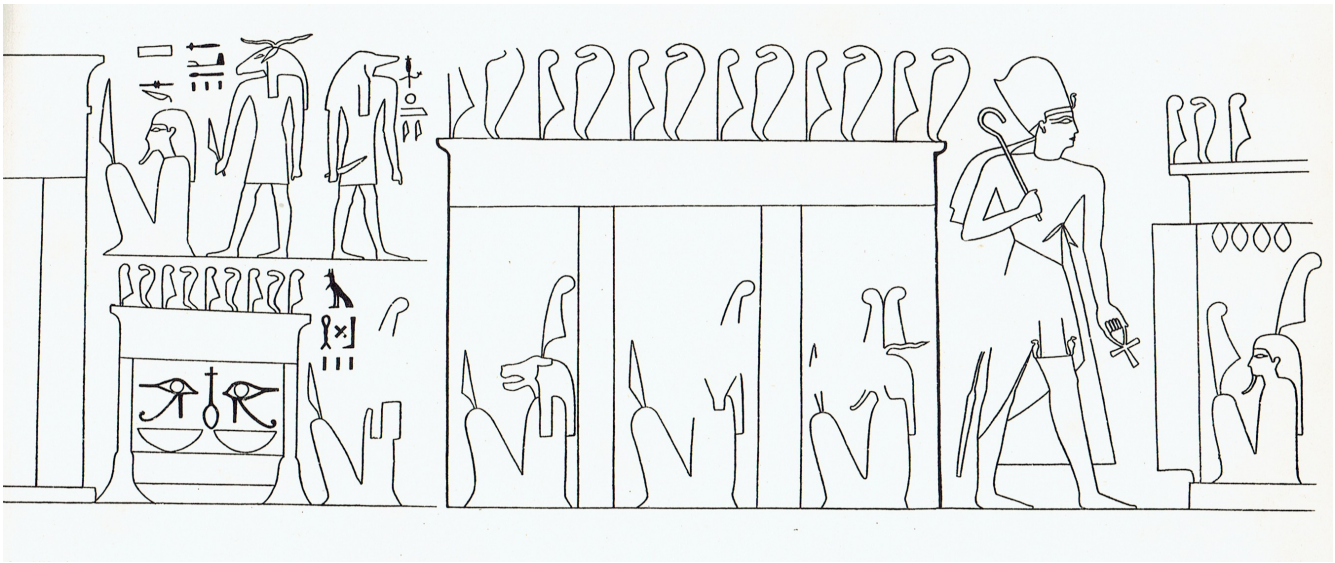


Fig. 8 Sloping Passage Osireion King Wearing the Blue Crown
H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), plate 70 https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Note that this raises the intriguing possibility that the Osireion may also have been intended to be used as part of the celebration of the Sed Festival - “a jubilee of the king's accession to the throne.” [21] The entrance doorway to the Sloping Passage, leading to the Central Hall where an enthroned Osiris statue stood on the island as it is depicted in the Book of the Gates (Fig. 9), corresponds to the door of the second Osiris shrine in Hall E.

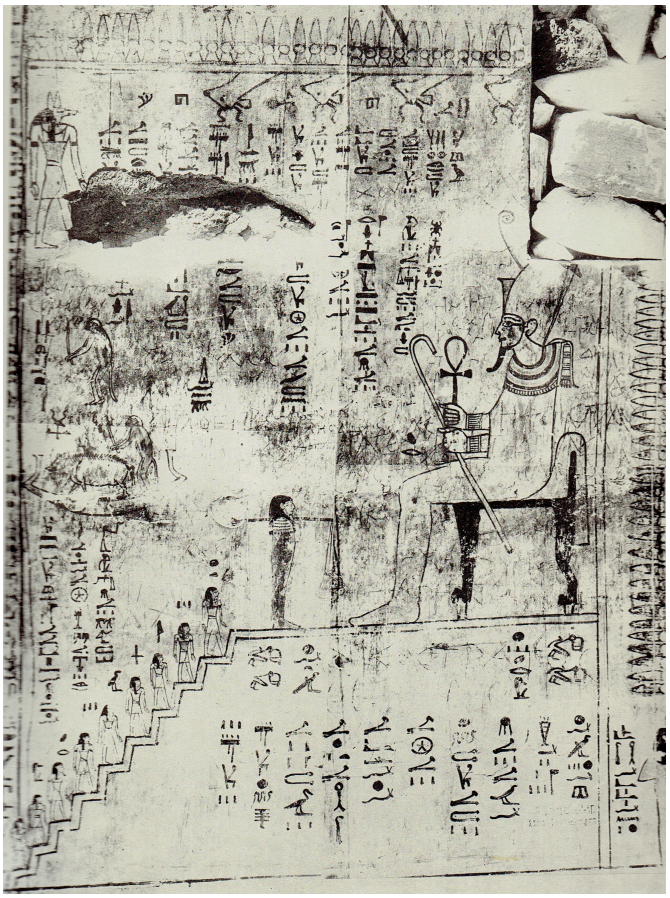


Fig. 9 Osireion Book of Gates Scene 33 Hall of Osiris
H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), plate 55 https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

The double scene of the enshrined Osiris on the rear wall of Hall E divides the royal tomb into its two realms, the upper and the lower duat. In the same sense, the enthroned Osiris in the Antechamber with its doorway of the “second shrine” opening to the Sloping Passage separates the Osireion. On the ceiling above the double scene of the enshrined Osiris in the royal tomb is a decanal star list on either side of the Books of the Day and of the Night. This has its conceptual parallel in the Osireion where traces of a star table are in situ on the ceiling at the upper end of the Sloping Passage. [22] As Neugebauer and Parker have suggested, the first season (*ꜣḫt*) most probably extended out on to the ceiling of the Antechamber to complete the star table. [23] This would place it across from the enshrined Osiris and by

21 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 24.

22 For a discussion of this star table and its significance for the third ritual cycle see C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion (2023), 5.3. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

23 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 32 fig. 16 and 34-35.

his great litany BD 142. The descent to corridor F in the royal tomb leads to the lower duat (Figs. 2 and 10). It and corridors F and G are decorated with Amduat hours one through eleven. [24]

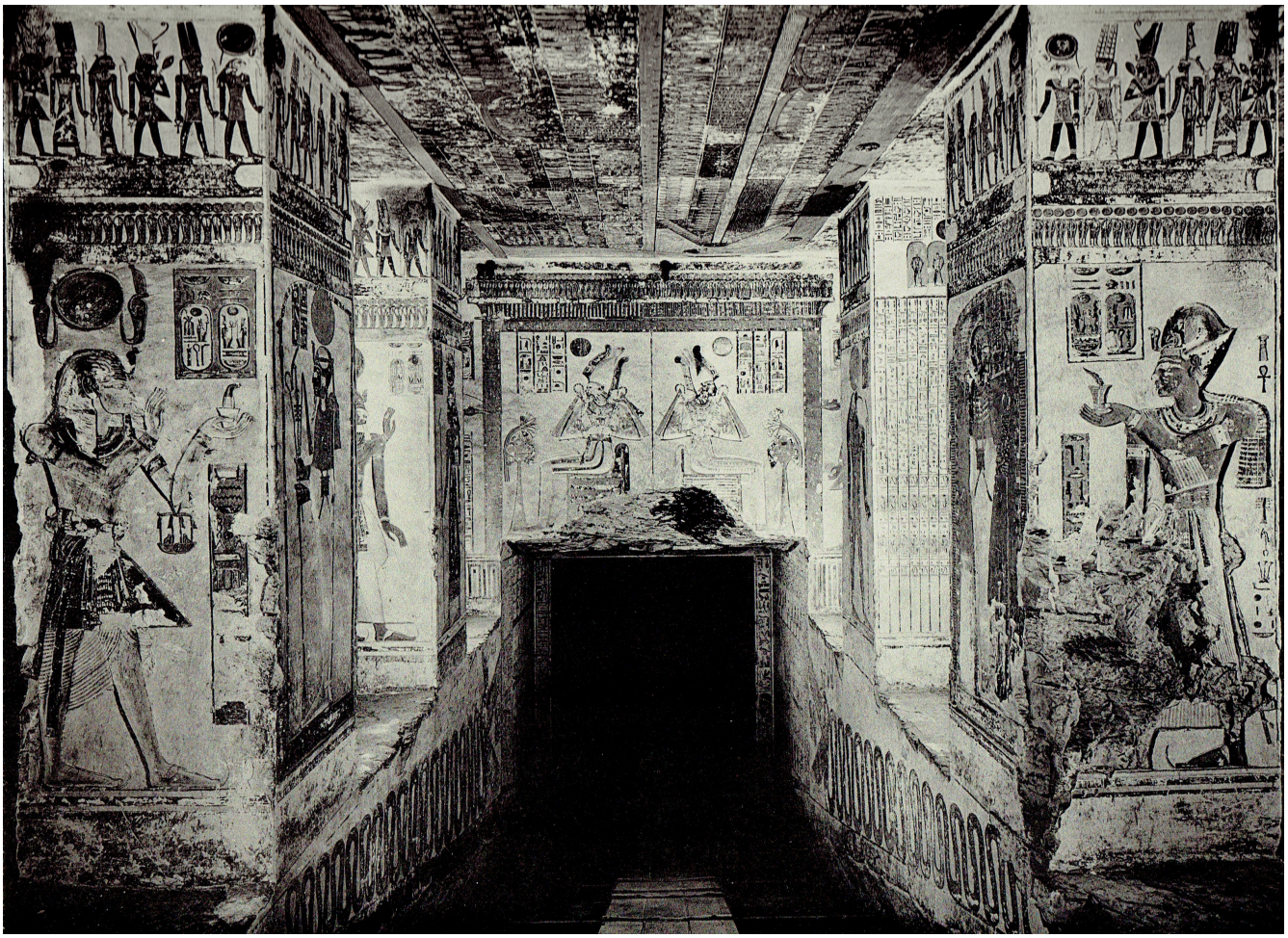


Fig. 10 Rear Wall Hall E leading down to Corridor F
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 63

In the Sloping Passage on the left wall descending into the lower duat, the ritual sequence which contains all the knowledge that the living Horus, the king, requires to enter the house of his father Osiris in the Hidden Chamber is inscribed. [25] (Fig. 11). In keeping with the ritual function of the Osireion, it logically and necessarily precedes the depiction of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, Amduat, reserved for the Central Hall in all probability. [26]

24 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 312. "The Twelfth Division is not depicted in the tomb of Ramesses VI."

25 The texts located there are Chapters 99, 147, 146, 145B, 125A and 125B from the Book of the Dead For the analysis see C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion (2023), section 5.3. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

26 For the ancient Egyptians' original name of the modern designation 'Amduat' see E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 32. For its probable location in the Central Hall, see C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion (2023), section 5.1. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

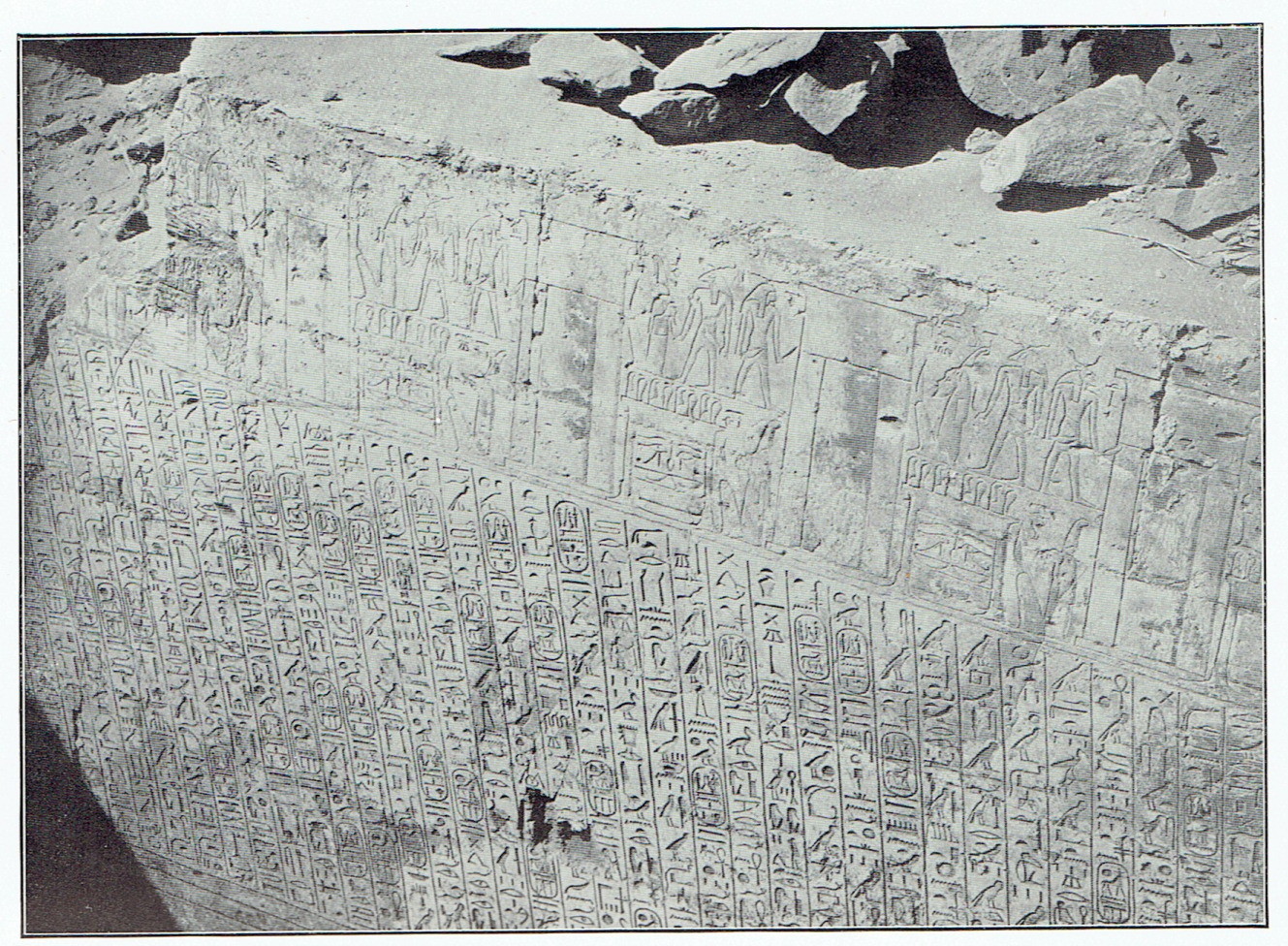


Fig. 11 Osireion Sloping Passage Vignettes and Text BD 147 detail
E. Naville, EES Archaeological Report 1911-1912, plate III figure 7

At the end of corridor G leading into Hall H of the tomb of Ramesses VI hours four and five of Amduat are inscribed. [27] (Figs. 12, 13, 14). Together with Hall H, they functionally correspond to the architectural layout of the Sloping Passage, First Transverse Hall and the Central Hall, [28] which due to their ritual use in the Osireion are considerably larger and more elaborate. They are the focus of the crucial events unfolding in the lower duat on the first occasion, *zp tpj*. It should be noted that the Sloping Passage corresponds specifically to the layout of the lower half of the fourth hour Amduat. [29] In corridor G of the royal tomb, it is depicted directly above the fifth hour of Amduat (Fig. 12). So like the Sloping Passage itself, it leads down to the fifth hour, the Hidden Chamber which is the Central Hall of the Osireion.

27 B. Porter, R. Moss, The Theban Necropolis pt. 2 (1973), 575. http://topbib.griffith.ox.ac.uk//pdf.html

28 See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 5.1 for the details of the architectural design of this area of the Osireion. https://isida-project.ucoz.com

29 See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), 5.1 for a discussion of the Amduat symbolism employed in the architectural design of the Osireion. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

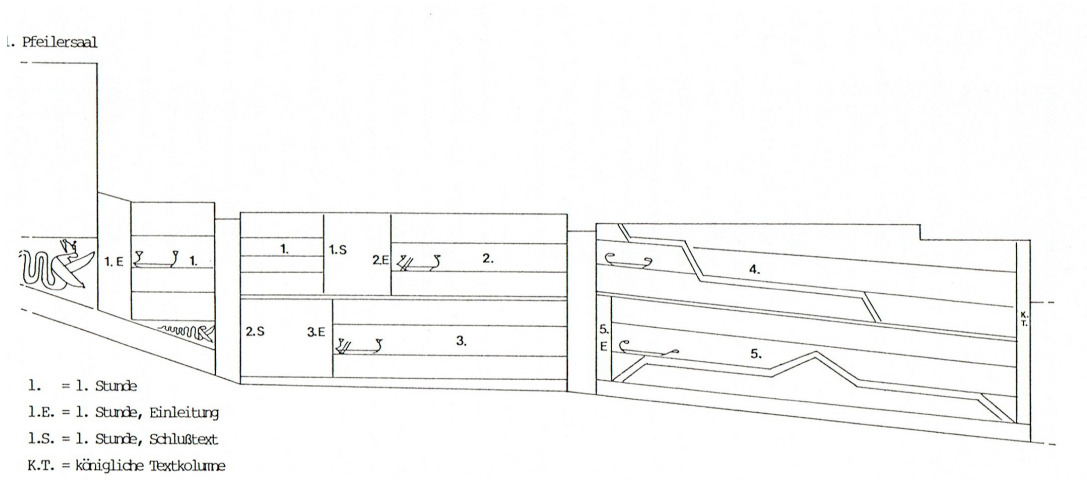
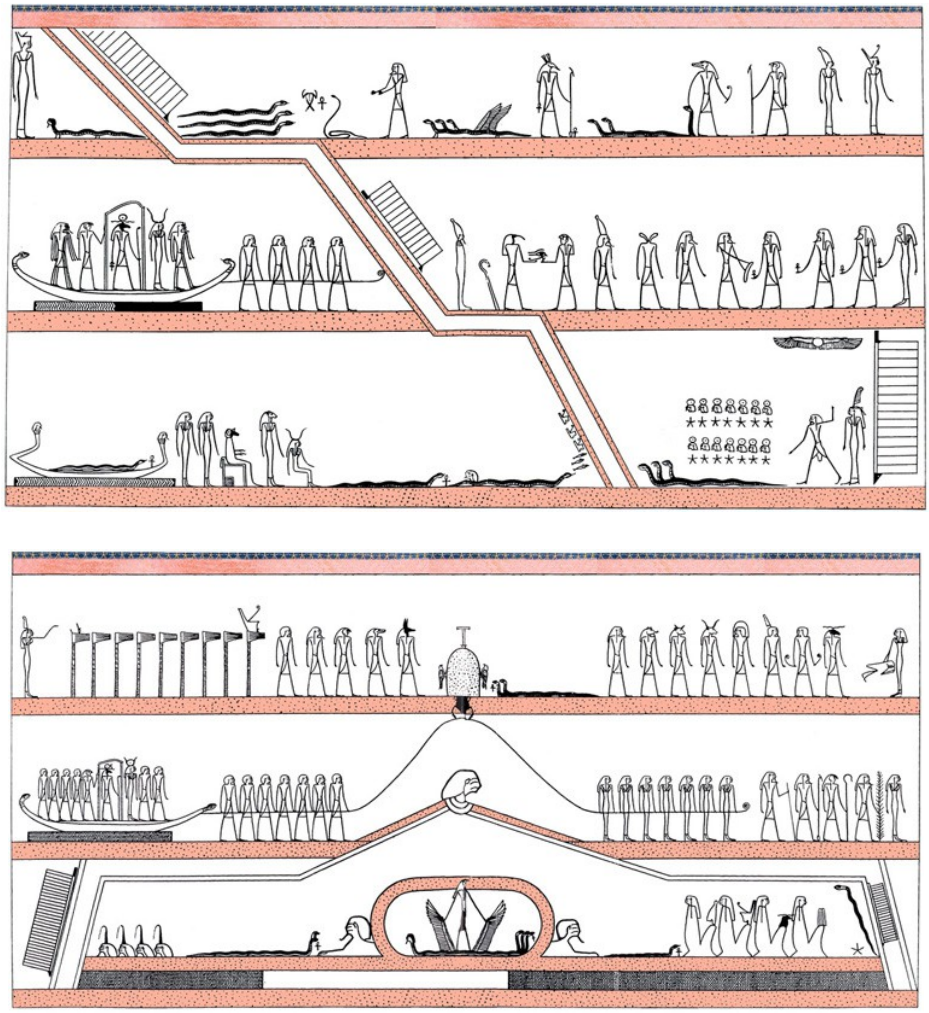


Fig. 12 Amduat Hours 1-5 Arrangement in Corridors F and G Tomb of Ramesses VI
F. Abitz F. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI (1989), 104.
https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/150956/



Figs. 13-14 Amduat Fourth and Fifth Hours
After Shedid in E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999).
https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianb00horn/mode/2up

According to Frankfort, the royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings that most resembles the architectural design of the Osireion is the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35). [30] In that tomb the hours of Amduat are first used sequentially, [31] and a side chamber separates the fourth hour from the fifth. In the Osireion the First Transverse Hall separates the Sloping Passage, the fourth hour of Amduat, from the fifth hour, the Central Hall. [32] Its identification is explicit and is found in the text immediately preceding the Transverse Hall on the left wall at the bottom of the Sloping Passage (Fig. 15, columns 89-90).

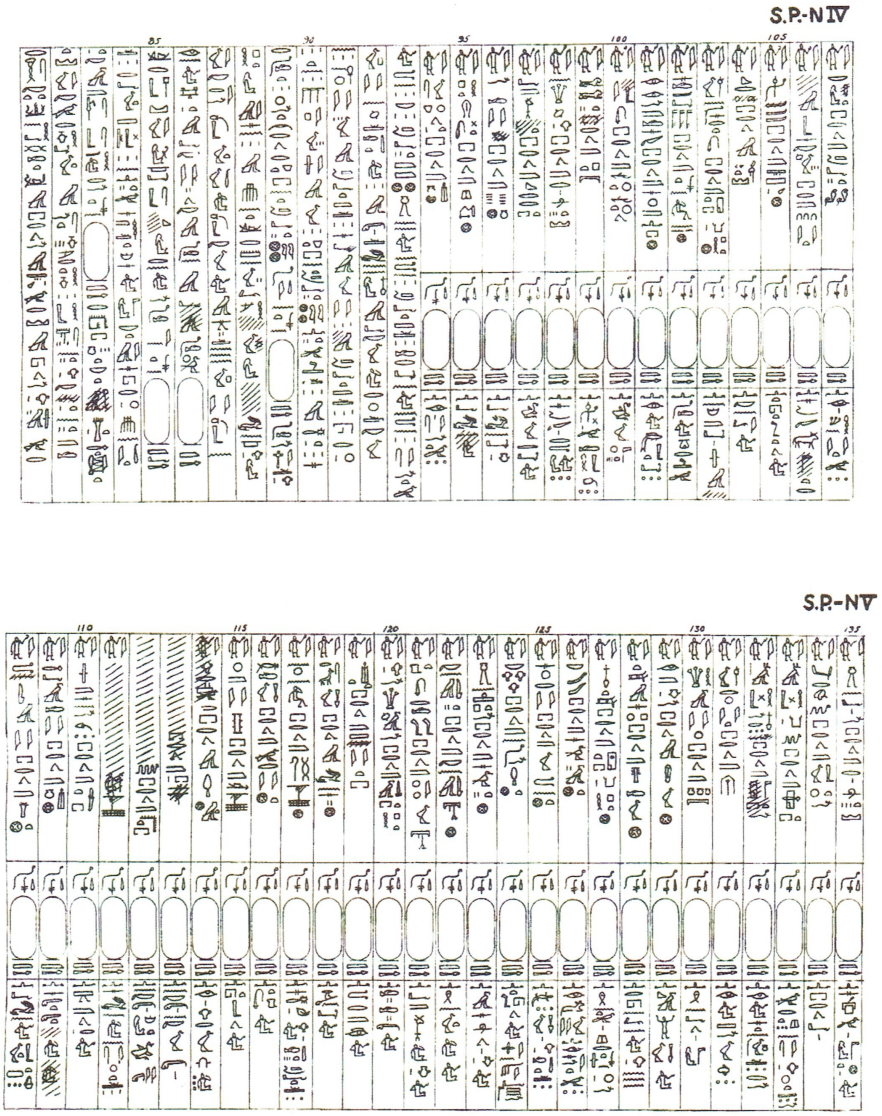


Fig. 15 Osireion Sloping Passage Text of BD 125
H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), Plate 67.
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2/

30 See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 2.2 and H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 11-21.

31 They are also arranged sequentially in the Tomb of Ramesses VI which suggests that they were also so arranged in the Central Hall of the Osireion.

32 See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 5.1, Message in Stone. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

In the vignette directly above the text naming it, its entrance is depicted as an open door shrine (Fig. 8.). It is clearly called the Broad Hall of Two Truths, *wsḫt nt mɜʿty,* in the text's title, [33] and is followed by the so-called negative confession portion of BD 125. BD 125 dominates the decoration on the left wall in Hall H of the royal tomb with a hymn to Maat equally prominent on the right wall, (Fig. 16)

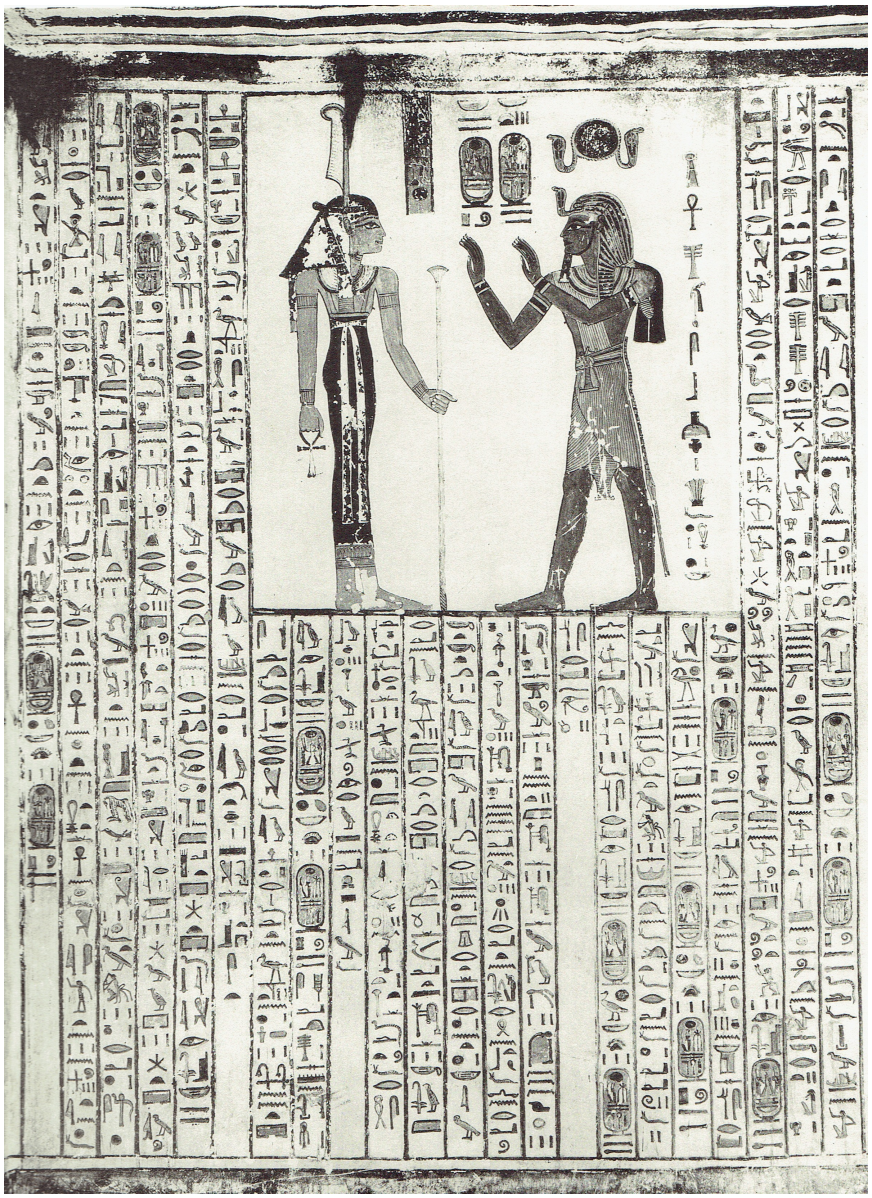


Fig. 16 Hall of Two Truths Hall H King Praising Maat
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 106

strongly suggesting that it too represents the Hall of Two Truths. In fact in the text in Hall H following the conclusion of the "negative confession", the identity is confirmed by the statement:

33 Columns 89 and 90 on plate LXVII in H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933): *r ḏdwt ḫft spr wsḫt nt mɜʿty ḏd jn nswt Mr-n-ptḥ ḥrw-mɜʿt ḏd.f inḏ ḥr tn nṯrw jpw jmj.w wsḫt nt mɜʿty…* What is to be recited on arriving at [this] broad hall of two truths (Double Maaty). Said by king Merenptah, true of voice, He says: Hail to you, you gods who are in the [this] broad hall of two truths (Double Maaty)... https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2/

"Hail to you O these Gods,
King Osiris Ramesses VI knows you,
he knows your names...
Hail to you O these Gods,
who are in the broad-hall of Two Truths..." [34]

Note that the text here is in the third person, whereas, in the Sloping Passage the recitation before the Hall of Two Truths by the king is in the first person. Again we find a clear distinction between the king as the living Horus performing the rites in the Osireion in a temple context and the king in the third person effectively the beneficiary of the recitation in the funerary context. Reinforcing the identification of Hall H with the Hall of Two Truths is the manner in which the final scene of the fourth hour of Amduat has been depicted at the end of corridor G, abutting the entrance to Hall H. Maat stands before an open door quite literally leading into Hall H (Fig. 17). In front of the goddess are

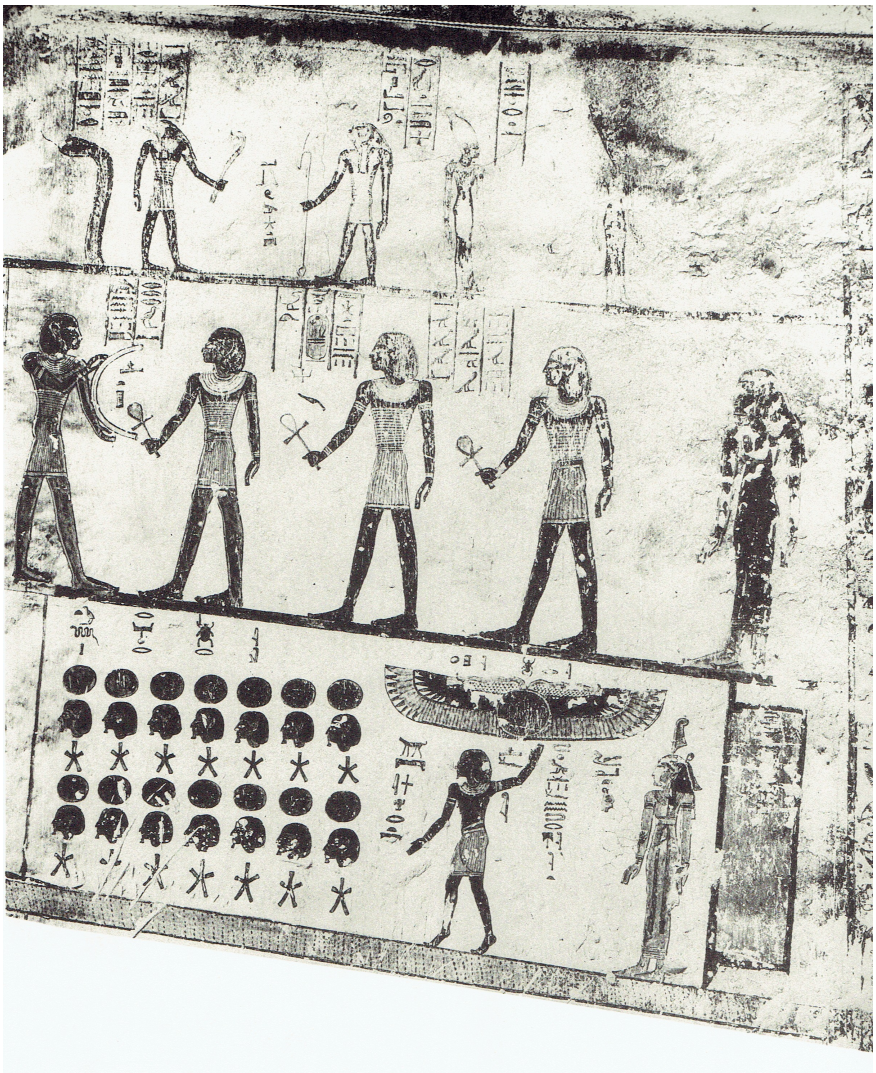


Fig. 17 Amduat Fourth Hour detail end of register
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 83.

34 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 325.

forty two divine symbols, alluding here to the forty two judges who are addressed in the “negative confession” of BD 125 just inside the entrance in Hall H, creating a seamless transition from corridor G into Hall H.[35]

Ramesses VI altered the ceiling decoration in the Hall of Two Truths (Hall H) from that found in the Osireion's Hall of Two Truths. Instead of the Book of the Night paired with the Book of the Day, which he moved to his Sarcophagus Chamber, he had the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques placed on the ceiling of Hall H.[36] (Fig. 18). By positioning it in Hall H

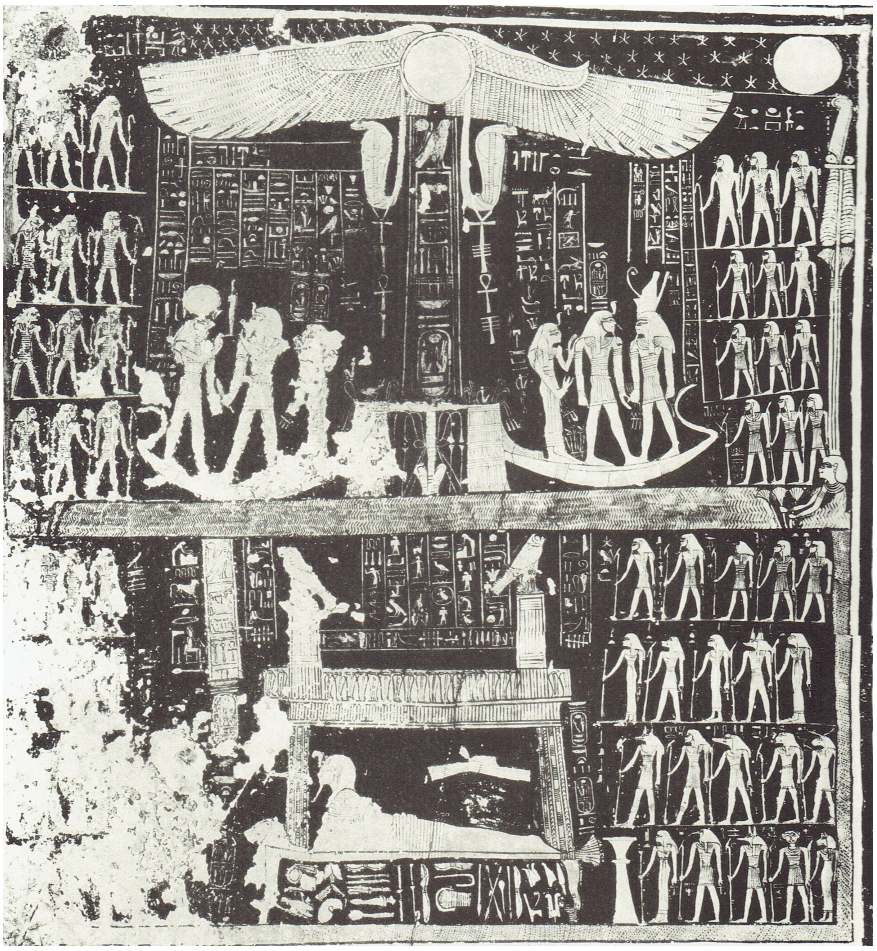


Fig. 18 Hall H Ceiling Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 183

Ramesses VI was able to maintain essentially the same spatial relationship between that composition and the Book of the Night as it exists in the Osireion, with the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques directly in front of and therefore preceding the Book of the Night on the ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall.[37] (Fig. 19). While the shift in the position of the Book of Gates in the

35 Note that in other versions of the final scene of the fourth hour of Amduat, the divine symbols are organized differently highlighting instead their lunar symbolism. See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 5.1. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

36 A single fragment in situ on the ceiling of the First Transverse Hall in the Osireion allows for the identification of the composition as the Book of the Night. See C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 5.8 for it being paired with the Book of the Day in that hall. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

37 In the royal tomb Hall H immediately preceded the Sarcophagus Chamber and therefore the Awakening composition remains in front of the Book of the Night.

Fig. 19 Book of the Night Opening Scene with the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques
H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), plate 75. https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

royal tomb to maintain its orientation to the winter solstice seems clear, the necessity to maintain the same spatial relationship between these two compositions is not. [38] Furthermore, by placing the Books of the Day and the Night in his Sarcophagus Chamber, Ramesses VI was able to complete his personal microcosm in which he in his oversized sarcophagus placed in a rectangular unfinished pit lay at the center of his Sarcophagus Chamber. [39] While Ramesses IV (KV 2) appears to have borrowed the ceiling decoration of his Sarcophagus Chamber directly from the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, Ramesses VI chose to substitute and replace the Book of Nut with the Book of the Day emphasizing instead his direct participation in the perpetual circuit of the sun god in *nḥḥ* time through the daytime sky, the nighttime sky and the duat. Roberson describes "the symbolic significance of the Ramesside sarcophagus chamber as akhet and divine birth station... The decoration of the royal burial chambers in the Ramesside period exhibits typically a cyclical arrangement, organized along a minor axis, such that the king's body might serve as the literal focal point and nexus for the cosmographic narrative unfolding along the monument's walls and ceiling. The characteristic architectural features of the Ramesside sarcophagus chamber (symmetrically opposed, arching sidewalls; vaulted roof; central sarcophagus depression), in conjunction with its celestial and chthonic decorative program, served to recreate the mythological locale in which Re and Osiris unite in the depths of the Underworld, as well as the akhet through which the rejuvenated sun [and the transfigured king] passes each evening and morning.

The combination of these two aspects of the nocturnal solar journey – the deepest, central point of the duat and the transitional boundary of the akhet – invites comparison with the various programmatic concluding representations found in the Underworld Books. The mythological significance of those

38 For a discussion see C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), section 5.7. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

39 E. Brock, private communication 9/18/2014. "The cutting of the floor of the burial chamber was not completed."

scenes is threefold, summarizing the most important aspects of the solar cycle: death in the west, travel through the underworld for the purpose of uniting with Osiris at the midpoint of the duat, and the rebirth in the east. In a very real sense, the Ramesside sarcophagus chamber serves as a sort of 'concluding representation' for the tomb itself, a microcosmic summary of the sun's perpetual death and rebirth.

The various Books of the Earth, as the conventional designation implies, illustrate the chthonic aspect of this solar cycle. The organization of the books' scene, as attested from the version of Merenptah through that of Ramesses VI, reflects a vertical movement through the Underworld, in which the sun progresses downward from the moment of sunset in the west, represented by the dome-shaped upper register of the left wall, then upward toward the moment of sunrise in the east, represented by the dome-shaped upper register of the right wall. [40] The critical moment of sunrise appears as a vertically oriented concluding representation, which unfolds symmetrically from the center of the uppermost register on the right, replicating to a greater or lesser extent the doomed shape of the wall itself. The inclusion of either an astronomical ceiling or the so-called Books of the Sky, in various permutations, provides the expected celestial counterpart, through a symmetrical bipartition of the ceiling into the northern and southern heavens above the western and eastern mountains of the horizon, represented by the sidewalls. The final element in this architectonic microcosm, the royal sarcophagus, lies within a sunken depression between the dome-shape sidewalls, in a position corresponding to that of the solar disc in the *ꜣḫt*-hieroglyph [Guardiner Sign List-N 27], effectively recreating the perpetuum mobile of the solar cycle in stone, in order to assure the eternal afterlife of the king (Fig. 20).

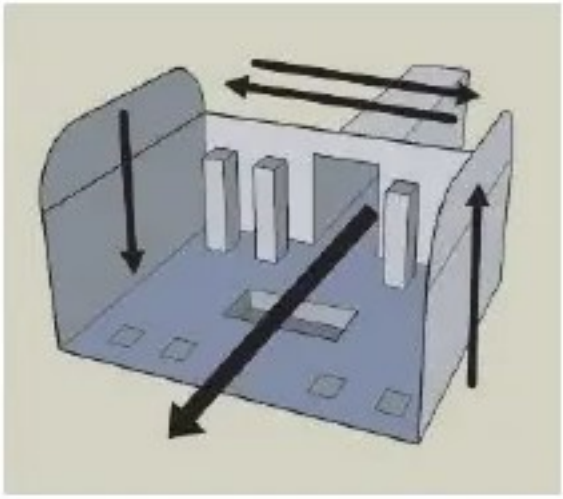


Fig. 20 Ramesside "akhet-style" Burial Chamber
J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 57 Fig. 2.25.

This new "akhet-style" sarcophagus chamber evolved over the course of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, standing in marked contrast to the "Amduat-style" burial chambers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Two of the most characteristic architectural elements of the "akhet-style" chamber – the arched sidewalls and curved ceiling – appear already in the Theban tomb of Seti I, contemporary

40 This vertical progression further distinguishes the Books of the Earth from the earlier Underworld Books, which generally depict a horizontal progress through the Underworld (with exceptions, e.g., the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat … With regard to the Books of the Earth, note that, while motion between the registers progresses vertically, the sun's course within a given register often follows a horizontal path … especially in those scenes that include the solar barque. J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 55-57.

with the first occurrence of the Book of the Earth in that king's cenotaph at Abydos [41] … The full complement of the architectural and iconographic features that define this new style of burial chamber appear for the last time in the tomb of Ramesses VI."[42] In addition the king's sarcophagus chamber also relates directly to *ḏt* time of *zp tpj*. This was achieved by the placement of the king's sarcophagus in a sunken pit in the "unfinished" floor of the sarcophagus chamber. The rough cut of the flooring symbolizes the undifferentiated matter of precreation, the primordial Nun out of which Tatenen, the distinct land, arose on the first occasion, just as the king's sarcophagus appears resting on the unfinished floor (Fig. 21). Where the primordial abyss meets the lower duat was called the Place of Destruction or Annihilation. Graphically symbolized by the bound and beheaded captives, the enemies of Osiris and of Re, who line the bottom of the walls below the register of the scenes from the Books of

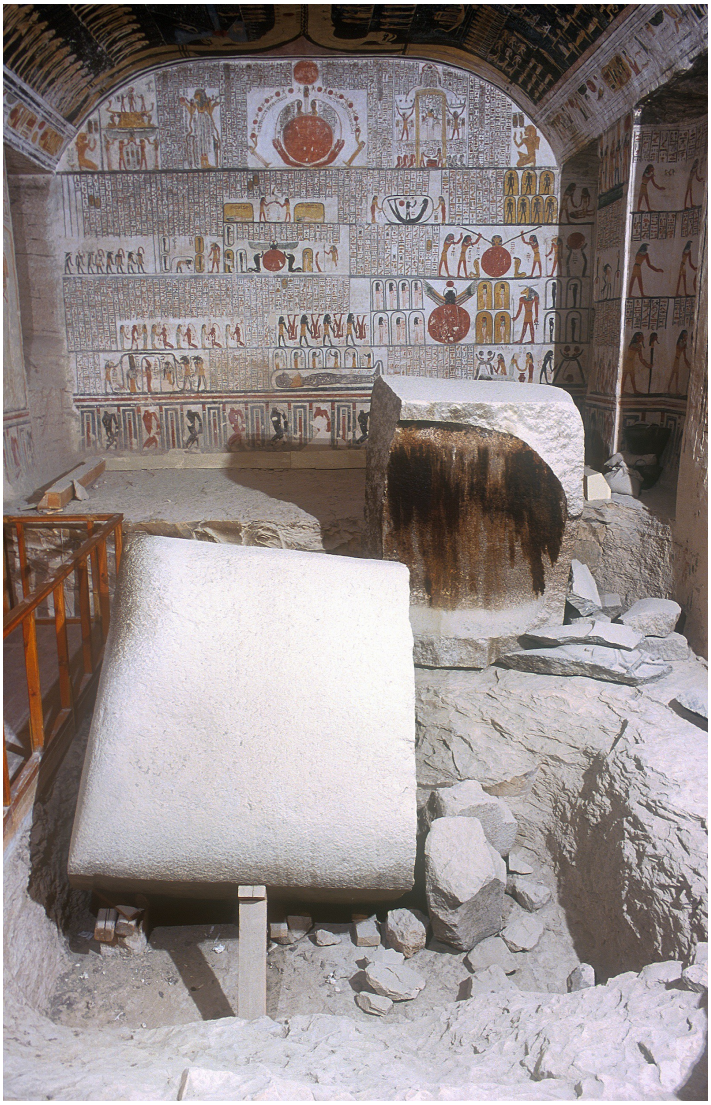


Fig. 21 Tomb of Ramesses VI rough cut unfinished floor in the Burial Chamber KV9
Photo courtsey of ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16284, F. Dzikowski 4/2001.

41 Note that the corresponding celestial decoration – the double sky, as represented originally by the so-called astronomical ceiling – appeared already on the arched burial chamber of Seti I. J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 55-57.

42 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 55-57.

the Earth which surround the magically protected sarcophagus of Osiris King Ramesses VI (Fig. 21). It is out of the Place of Destruction that creation arose on the first occasion. The visual image created here brings to mind Manassa's remarks on her Type I sarcophagi's decoration program "which that scholar identifies as a hitherto unrecognized Underworld composition relating to 'resurrection through decomposition/deconstruction' [as is depicted in the sarcophagus chamber arising up from the Place of Destruction]."[43]

Couched here in its funerary context of the royal tomb, the king's sarcophagus on its "unfinished" floor presents the same image and message as that which the island in the Central Hall of the Osireion represents, despite their radically different appearance. The moat surrounding the island contains the formless watery abyss of the Nun duplicated in the royal sarcophagus chamber by the "formless" unfinished pit in which the king's sarcophagus rests. Both are at the very bottom of their respective structures, where the lower duat meets the Nun, defined both by their location and their decoration. This region was called the Place of Destruction or Place of Annihilation where the enemies of Osiris and of Re are dispatched to nonexistence, the final "second death". But at the same time and this is the great mystery and paradox, it is also the source of all renewed life as witnessed by the new sunrise and the moon's reappearance in the night sky with first crescent visibility. Not just renewed life as is seen for the gods of the sun and the moon (and the stars) but also transfigured life, where Ramesses VI after his death is ritually transformed into Osiris, Ruler of the West, the Lord of Eternity for his royal role in the afterlife expressed by Osiris and the function of his microcosm created by his sarcophagus chamber. But in the Osireion unlike the royal tomb where the king is ritually transfigured into Osiris Ramesses VI, it is the place of the birth of divine kingship and Dynastic rule on the earth through its mythic prototype. The rectangular cutout in the floor of the island in the Central Hall was not made for a sarcophagus as has been assumed since the chamber's discovery.[44] (Fig. 22). It was made to house the

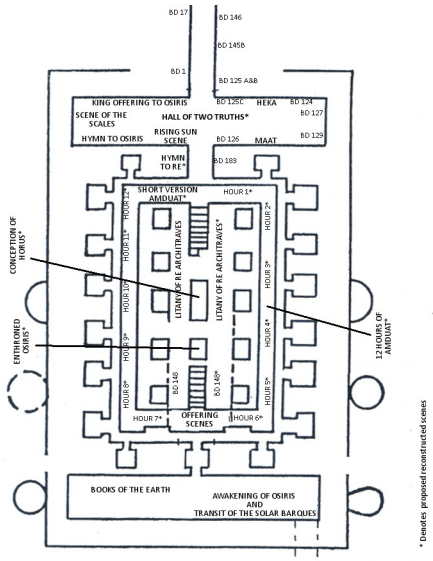


Fig. 22 Schematic Third Ritual Cycle (Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

43 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 61 citing C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2007), 15, 65-6.

44 See discussion in section 5.5 of C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023) and H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 29. Almost seventy five years later this assumption has been seriously and credibly challenged by A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungenzum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 167-186 and again by L. Gestermann "Einige Anmerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm im Osireion von Abydos" in W. Waitkus, Diener des Horus Festschrift fur Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag (2008), 109-122.

lion-headed bier on which lay the awakening and aroused Osiris mounted by Isis as she conceives Horus, representing and recreating the moment of the conception of Dynastic rule on the earth at *zp tpj* (Figs. 23 and 24). In effect, it is as the Dynasty 21 priest had dubbed it, the Birth House of Isis. [45]

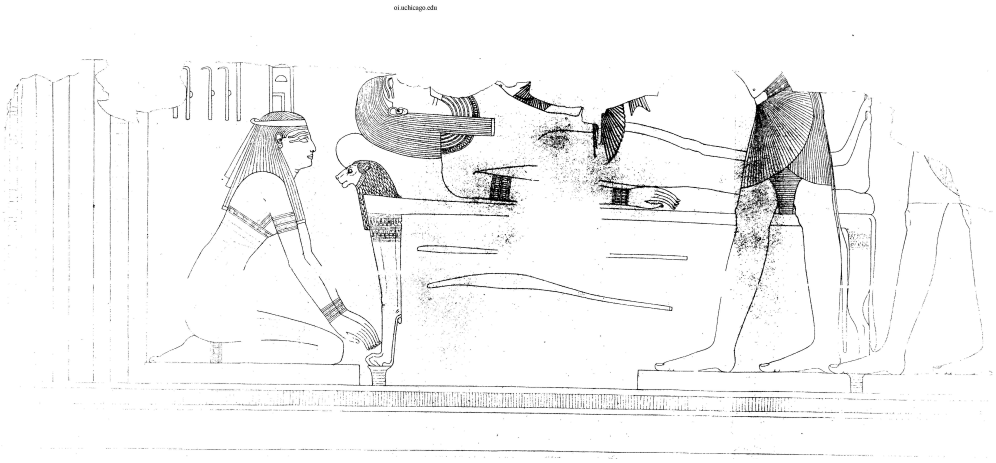


Fig. 23 Osiris Complex Room 11 Awakening Scene Temple of Seti I
(Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 62) https://oi.uchicago.edu

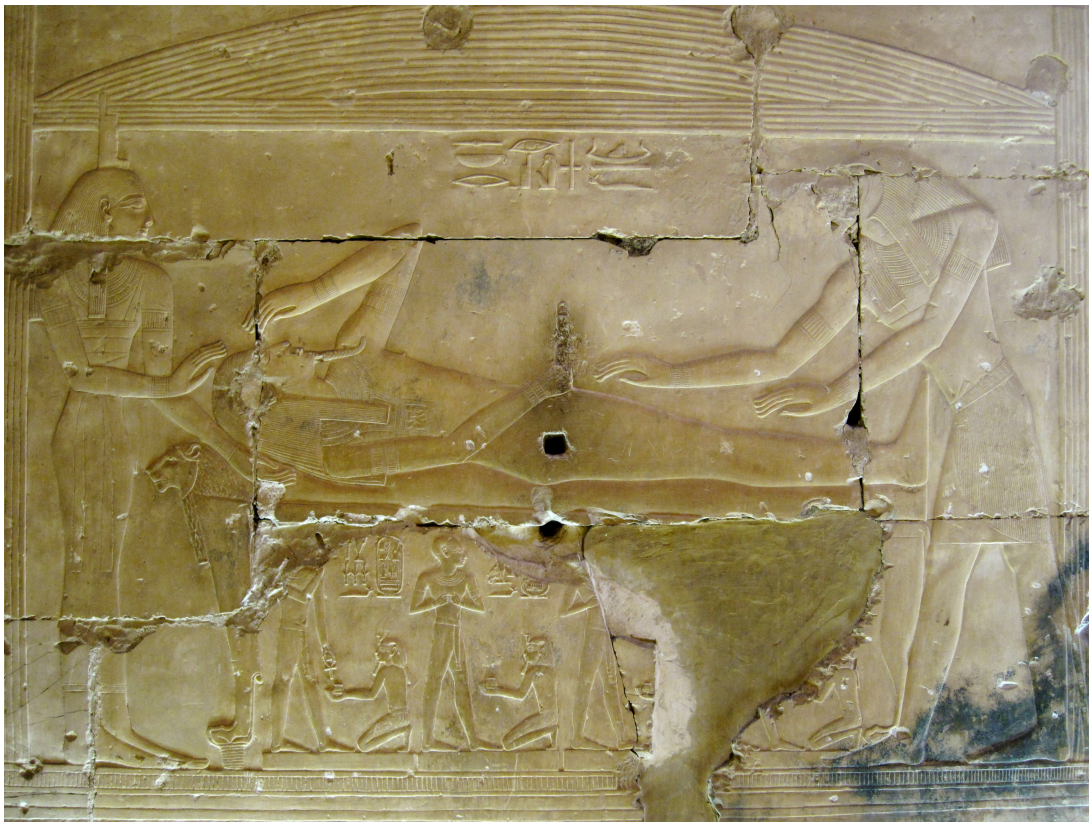


Fig. 24 Osiris Awakening Chapel of Sokar Temple of Seti I
Photo courtsey of Olaf Tausch at Commons.wikimedia.org

45 C. Herzer, Study of the Osireion at Abydos (2023), 12-3 and 69-70. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

The scant traces that remain on the notional southern wall of the final Transverse Hall, (Fig. 25) as Roberson has demonstrated, are quite revealing. [46] There are only fragments of five texts and one scene However, Roberson has determined that two of the texts and the "mound scene" find parallels in the Book of the Earth compilation in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VI, which is not at all surprising accepting my hypothesis that Ramesses VI used the decoration program of the Osireion as his template. Again it would appear that even though his choice of scenes and texts from the Books of

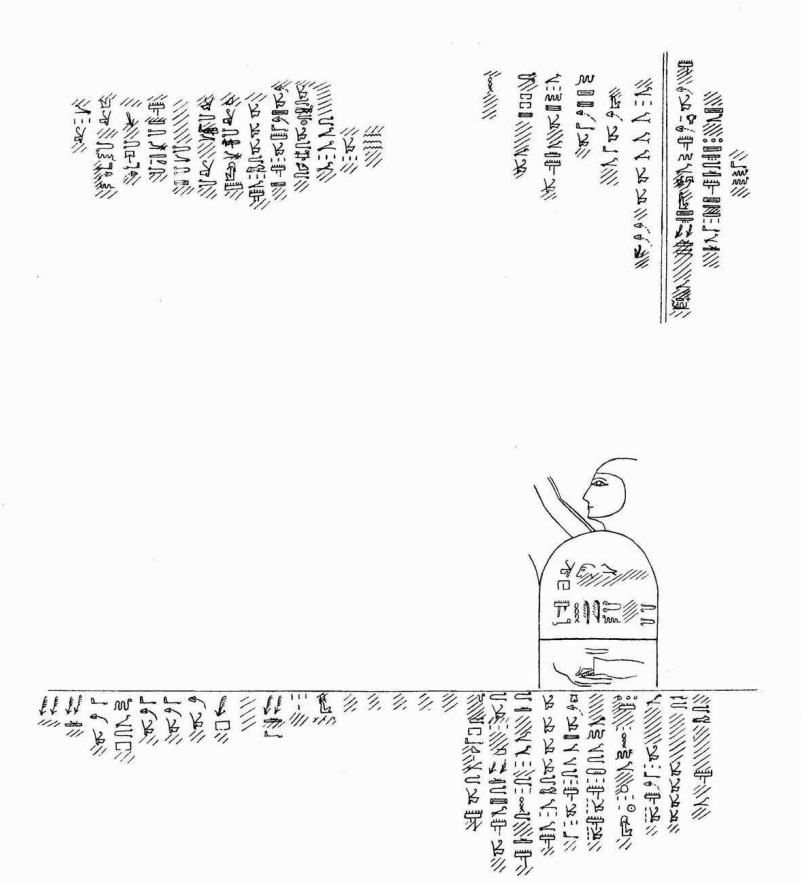


Fig. 25 Second Transverse Hall Traces of the Book(s) of the Earth
H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), plate 87. https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

the Earth is quite extensive, fifty two scenes (of eighty known) and eighty texts, [47] nevertheless it is not a copy. [48] Presumably, it was deliberately selective to accommodate the perceived burial and afterlife needs for the king. In addition, two of the texts, a solar litany (Cenotaph Text 4) and Text 5 find parallels in the tomb of Ramesses IX. "Cenotaph Text 5 appears to represent a later version of the cryptic annotation to the standing mummies in upright sarcophagi attested first on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamen [as part of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity]." [49] Finally, "the perserved

46 For Roberson's skillful analysis of these fragmentary cryptographic texts see J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 93-112 www.academia.edu/627551/ ; "A Solar Litany From the Tomb of Ramesses IX" JARCE 45 (2009), 227-232 www.academia.edu/627552/ ; and The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 28-32, 303-307.

47 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 39.

48 Not only are three of the five textual fragments (60%) not included in his burial chamber, the Osireion texts are all cryptographic and Ramesses VI's are not.

49 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 106. www.academia.edu/627551/

sections of Texts 1 and 2 have yet to reveal specific parallels, either from the Book of the Earth, or the broader Underworld corpus. Certain words and phrases appear to be consistent with the genre but it remains unclear whether these two passages are unique to Seti I's Cenotaph, or simply remain unidentified due to their fragmentary context." [50] "The identification of the enigmatic Cenotaph Texts presented here demonstrates clearly that manipulation of Book of the Earth scenes, including integration with related underworld compositions, [51] was already taking place by the reign of Seti I. Seti's composition shares scenes and texts with the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI and the related compilation of Ramesses IX, but not all features found in the Cenotaph are common to both of the later recensions. This point is significant, because it suggests that the so-called 'Book' of the Earth from the tomb of Ramesses VI was itself a compilation not unlike the collections of 'miscellaneous' scene from the sarcophagus halls of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX. Furthermore, the Cenotaph Texts demonstrate that multiple sections of this composition can now be traced to the earliest years of the Ramessid era or even further, in the case of Text 5, to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty." [52] The diversity of texts contained in so few fragments raises the question of the size and extent of the composition or, more likely, compositions on the walls of the final Transverse Hall that once existed particularly given the large size of this chamber. Furthermore, one of the key functions of the Osireion was the re-formation of the universal order after the Amarna Heresy. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to reach back to the first occasion to re-create it thus allowing for Maat to be properly restored. By it the realm of Osiris was restored and enhanced so that his son could rule on the earth as the living Horus. Certainly then Seti I was indeed beneficial to Osiris as the name of the Osireion underscores.

There remains to be discussed the ceiling decoration of corridors F and G in Ramesses VI's tomb of which there are no existing traces remaining in the Osireion. These are the two corridors where the eleven hours of Amduat are depicted. "The ceiling of corridor F is decorated with representations of the day and the night barques of the sun god. These are shown in different views, both in plan and elevation, together with separate images of the sun god and his companions, including the great coiled serpent Mehen who protects him. These figures give the impression of being taken from a set of instructions for fashioning the image of the sun's boats." [53] (Figs. 26 and 27).To the right "is a series of lion-[headed] biers bearing mummies or naked figures, placed horizontally. Many of the these representations are similar to those in the first hours of the Book of Night. Above these representations are depicted scenes from the Book of Night: a procession of divinities and the sun god in the night barge towed by gods. Below is a procession of gods from the Book of Day."[54] The Book of the Night scenes depict the twelve barques leading up to sunrise in the first hour of the day. Above the barques are the deities who populate the realm in the upper register of the Book of the Night. Up to and including the ninth hour, the deities are individually distinguishable by their crowns, headdresses, gender, body position, etc. In this composition as well as in all existent versions of the Book of the Night, after the ninth hour this is not the case, the figures are uniformly standing male deities without

50 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 98. www.academia.edu/627551/

51 In this case, the standing mummy tableau from the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

52 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 107. www.academia.edu/627551/

53 E. Brock, "The Tomb of Ramesses VI" in K. Weeks (ed.) Valley of the Kings (2001), 254-255.

54 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 434, plates 173-176.

Fig. 26 Solar Barques Composition Ceiling Corridor F detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
Photo courtsey of ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15147, F. Dzikowski 12/1999.

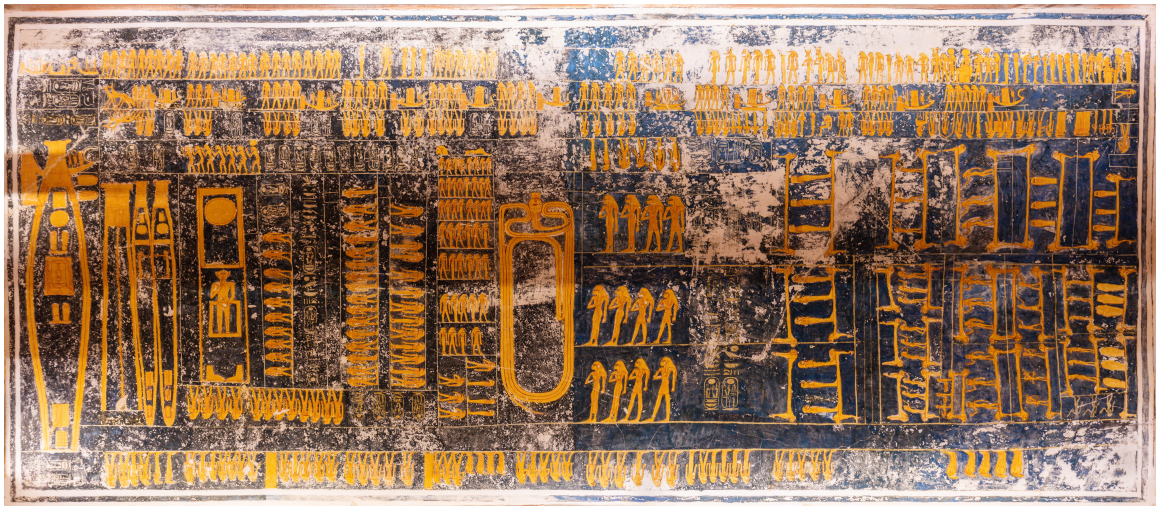


Fig. 27 Solar Barques Composition Ceiling Corridor F KV 9 Ramesses VI
Photo courtsey of Diego Delso, CC_BY_SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons

distinction.[55] This abrupt change has two possible explanations. The seemingly obvious is that Re is said to leave the duat in the ninth hour according to the Book of Nut:

> "It is from the duat that the majesty of this god goes forth
> and in the *msḳt*-region that these stars go forth from him.
> It is from the duat that the god rises,
> these stars rising with him in the *msḳt*-region.

55 Besides this composition, there are two copies of the Book of the Night in the tomb of Ramesses VI and at least two documented in the Osireion. The copy in the tomb of Ramesses IV is too abbreviated to be useful to this analysis. It breaks off with the fourth hour. E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 122. https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianb00horn/mode/2up

It is the door of the duat.
He is revivified in the *msḳt*-region -
that is to say, it is strength for him.
He was glorious in the arms of his father, Osiris, in *tɜ-wr* -
he was beautiful in the hand of his father, Osiris, in the duat -
that is to say, it was in the duat that he was.
That is the water from which Re rises
at the first time [*zp tpj*] in his <antiquity> -
at the first time of his rising -
that is to say, his rising from it at day [sunrise].
The order comes that he withdraw toward mankind
in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*
It happens that he orders his withdrawal from the duat
in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*
It is the ninth hour of the night.
That is what it (the text) means.
It happens that the (book) *gɜbt* … names the eighth gate of the duat: [56]
The people who are in it enter.
Another explanation ..." [57]

As the text indicates, the focus shifts to the rearing and revivification of the sun god in the *msḳt*-region, all else becomes secondary where by the twelfth hour in the Book of the Night the solar child is depicted on the prow of the barque in preparation for the impending sunrise. This then would be the obvious explanation. Yet this is clearly not the case in either the Book of Gates or in Amduat which also detail the nocturnal solar journey through the twelve hours of the night. Indeed, both the upper and lower registers of these compositions are, in fact, quite detailed, at least as much as the earlier hours if not more so.

The curious fact is that the detailed depictions of the deities in the upper and lower registers of the Book of the Night end exactly where the carving stops on the ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall in the Osireion (Figs. 28 and 29). This would suggest that the inked cartoons used by the sculptors in Seti's reign had already vanished about 140 years later when work in Ramesses VI's tomb was being completed. It also suggests that there was no other source such as a papyrus manuscript of the Book of the Night still in existence which could be consulted. Indeed no copy existed except what remained in the Osireion. Ramesses VI had to rely on what was still visible there and, in effect, had to complete his composition in a more general fashion. [58] This also serves to support my hypothesis that the template for the "break with tradition" used for the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI was the Osireion itself.

56 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 51. "gAbt....: A book but obscure; gAbt is probably for gbt, 'sky', usually determined by the figure of the bending Nut. What follows is conceivably to be read wsxt 'broad', though it may as well be wsxt 'hall', and somehow refer to the gate from the eighth to the ninth hour." https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Parker

57 Ibid., 50-51. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Parker

58 Apart from the funerary adaptation of this composition, this is precisely why the Book of the Night cannot be analyzed for the significance of the overall number symbolism embedded in its structure. Only the first nine hours in the Osireion version would benefit from this type of analysis.

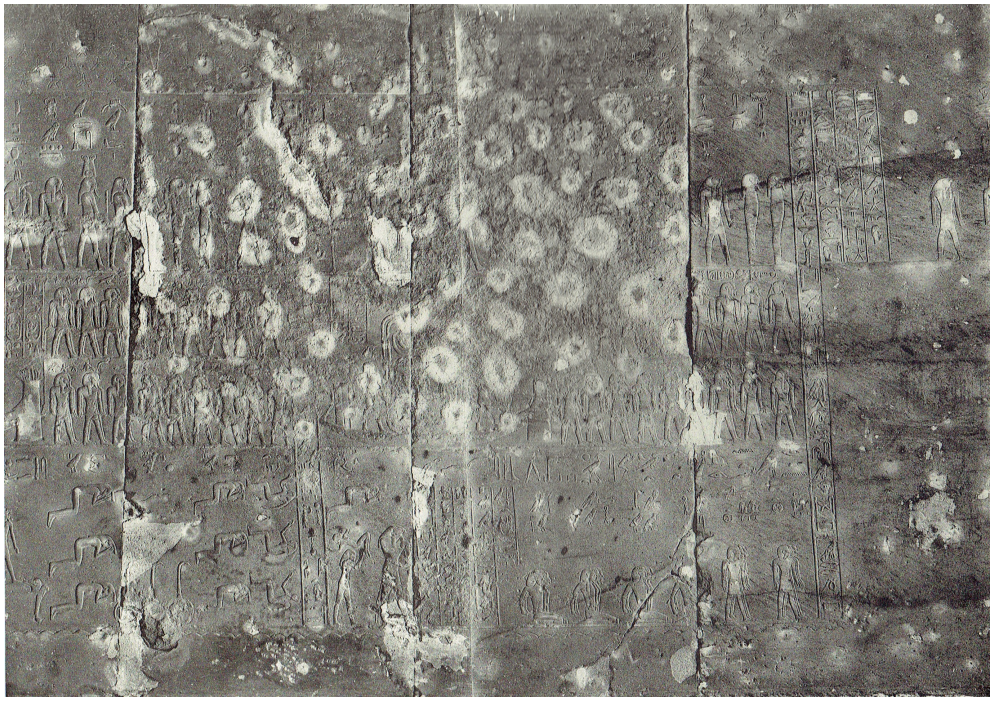


Fig. 28 Book of the Night Sixth-Seventh Hours Second Transverse Hall
H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), plate 79. https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

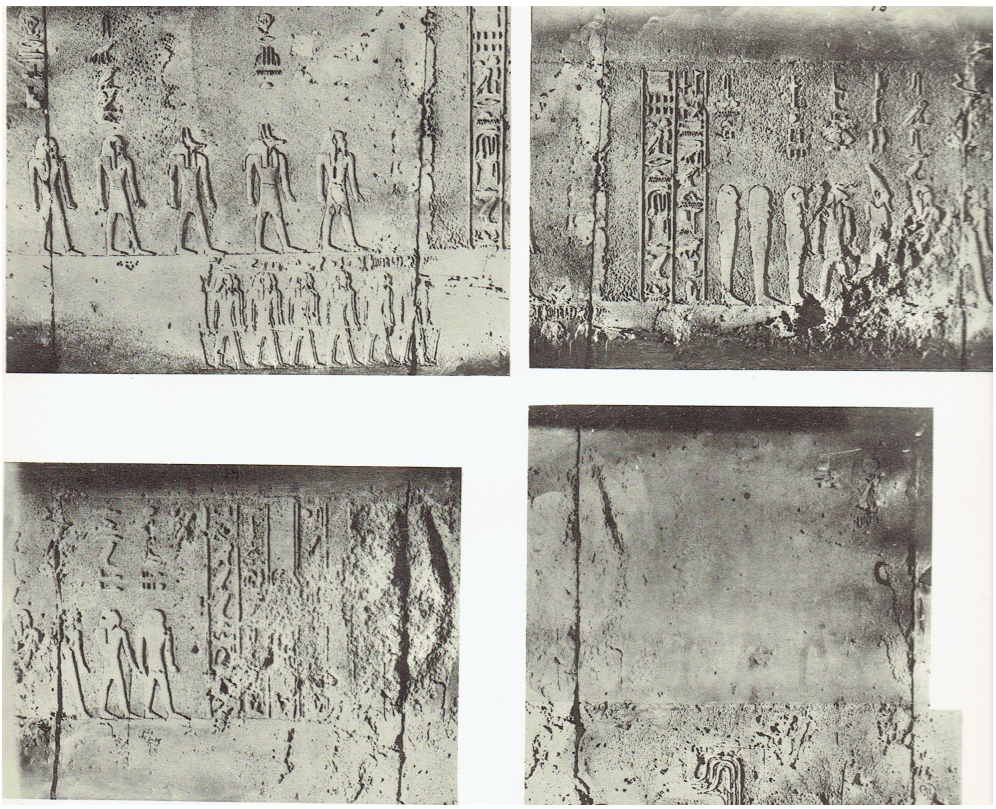


Fig. 29 Book of the Night Traces of Hours 8-9 Second Transverse Hall
H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), plate 80. https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

The composition of the solar barques combined with portions of the Books of the Night and the Day in corridor F appear again in the tomb of Ramesses IX in the third corridor. [59] However, there the depictions of the solar barques reflecting those of a set of instructions for the fashioning of the image of the solar barques are not included. The fact that this composition is found in both the tombs of Ramesses VI and IX, two of the three Ramesside royal tombs that drew heavily from the decoration program of the Osireion, leads one to conclude that it was also present in the Osireion. Logically, its location most probably was on the ceiling at the entrance end of the Central Hall proper, where the hours of Amduat were also to have been located, or less likely on the ceiling of the entranceway to the Central Hall. But its length is quite short only 3.65 m. (12 ft.) compared to the 6.2 m. (20ft.) utilized in corridor F, therefore it would have been divided into two halves which would be in keeping with the ritual progression – in on the left side and back out from the Central Hall on the right. The portion of the composition concerning the Book of the Night and attendant scenes that follow would have been on the left leading into the depths of the duat where the lower duat meets the waters of the Nun and creation begins to manifest, the very image invoked by the attendant scenes (Fig. 26 and Fig. 30).

Fig. 30 Solar Barques Composition detail second half KV 9 Ramesses VI
K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 254.

On the right leading back out from the lower duat towards the Antechamber, the eastern akhet and place of sunrise, contained first the "instructions" diagramming the fashioning of the solar barques including the Great Encircler, Mehen, who protects the sun god on his journey. [60] (Fig. 31). This is followed by the scenes of the Book of the Day that will unfold after the first sunrise. [61]

59 E. Brock, "The Tomb of Ramesses IX" in K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 268-269.

60 Apart from the king's 44 or 45 cartouches and titles there are virtually no hieroglyphic texts in this composition.

61 The scenes selected from the Book of the Day lead the ritualist back into the Hall of Two Truths where the complete Book of the Day was in all probability originally inscribed on the notional southern half of the pitch ceiling, subtly conveying its solstitial orientation.

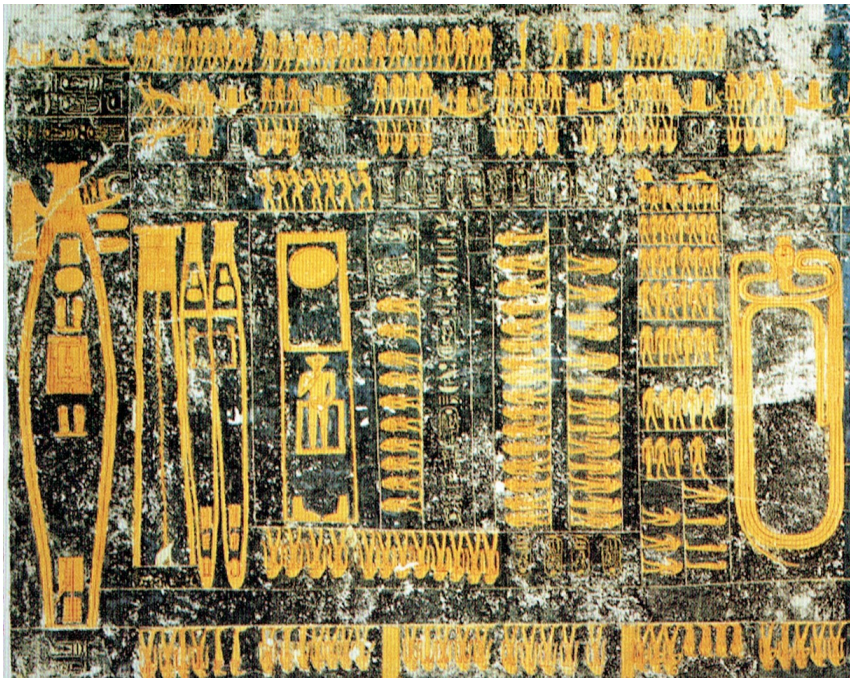


Fig. 31 Solar Barques Composition detail Mehen and the Solar Barques Corridor F
K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 254.

The diagrams of the solar barques (Fig. 26), marks the start of the solar journey to the eastern akhet leading to the unfolding of the first sunrise on the summer solstice on I *ꜣḫt* 1, the ancient Egyptian New Year's Day which can only now take place following the union of Re with his corpse, Osiris, in the depths of the duat in the Second Transverse Hall, and the necessary conception of Horus in the Central Hall. Recall that this is paralleled at the start of the king's journey into the lower duat to see his father. At the beginning of the descent the king must first magically construct his barque in order to cross the winding waterway. [62] So here too the night and day barques of the sun god must be constructed so that the first sunrise will unfold.

The bizarre images in the attendant scenes that follow the depiction of the sun god traveling through the twelve hours of the night are intended to invoke the sense of the unity of existence both in life and in the afterlife and its continuity (Fig. 27). They are symbolized not only by the animated naked human figures and the surrounding standing mummies, but also by the dual lion-headed biers for each group of three figures, each bier having a lion's head at each end (Figs. 32 and 33). The continuity is expressed by the movement or flow of the naked animated figures back and forth across the scenes, (Fig. 34) reflecting the cyclical nature of *nḥḥ* time which arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion. It is one of the most vivid depictions of human forms in motion in the corpus of the Underworld Books.

The situation with the ceiling decoration for corridor G may have been somewhat different. [63] It is unlikely that there was a direct parallel in the Osireion for the portion that may have had to have been redesigned specifically for corridor G, where the accidental break through into KV 12 (owner unkown)

62 BD 99 at the top end on the left side of the Sloping Passage in the Osireion. https://isida-project.ucoz.com/

63 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 435-437 for a description of the decoration.

Fig. 32 Solar Barques Composition detail the Naked and the Mummies KV 9
Photo courtsey of www.jlcarroll.net

Fig. 33 Solar Barques Composition detail Double Lion-headed Biers KV 9
Photo courtesy of www.jlcarroll.net

Fig. 34 Solar Barques Composition Flow of Figures' Movements
K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 254.

occurred.[64] "Due to some error in calculating the proper angle of descent for the corridors, the tomb of Ramesses VI collided with the last chamber in the tomb KV 12, resulting in a two foot by 2.8 foot hole in corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI. The architects of Ramesses VI were forced to alter the appearance of the fifth corridor (G), and the result was a sloping floor, a ceiling with a dropped portion at the far end, and a relatively high lintel above the doorway to Hall H.[65] The ceiling of corridor G, both the raised and dropped portions, along with the lintel at the end of the corridor, bear Netherworld scenes with enigmatic annotations."[66] (Figs. 35, 36 and 37).

Fig. 35 Astronomical Ceiling Corridor G KV 9 Showing Alterations for the Breach
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 101.

64 E. Hornung, "Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses VI" in J. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk (eds.) Funerary Symbols and Religion (1988), 45-51. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Milde

65 E. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI (1989), 30 fig. 5 for a sketch of this corridor G, with a reconstruction of the progression of the quarrying work at the time of the break through into KV 12. https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/150956/

66 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995) PhD Dissertation, 236 including n. 64 above. https://www.4shared.com/web/preview/pdf/a-6OZRVJce and www.academia.edu/19068611/ (published edition)

Fig. 36 Astronomical Ceilings Corridors G and F detail KV 9
Photo courtesy of Adrienne Rourke

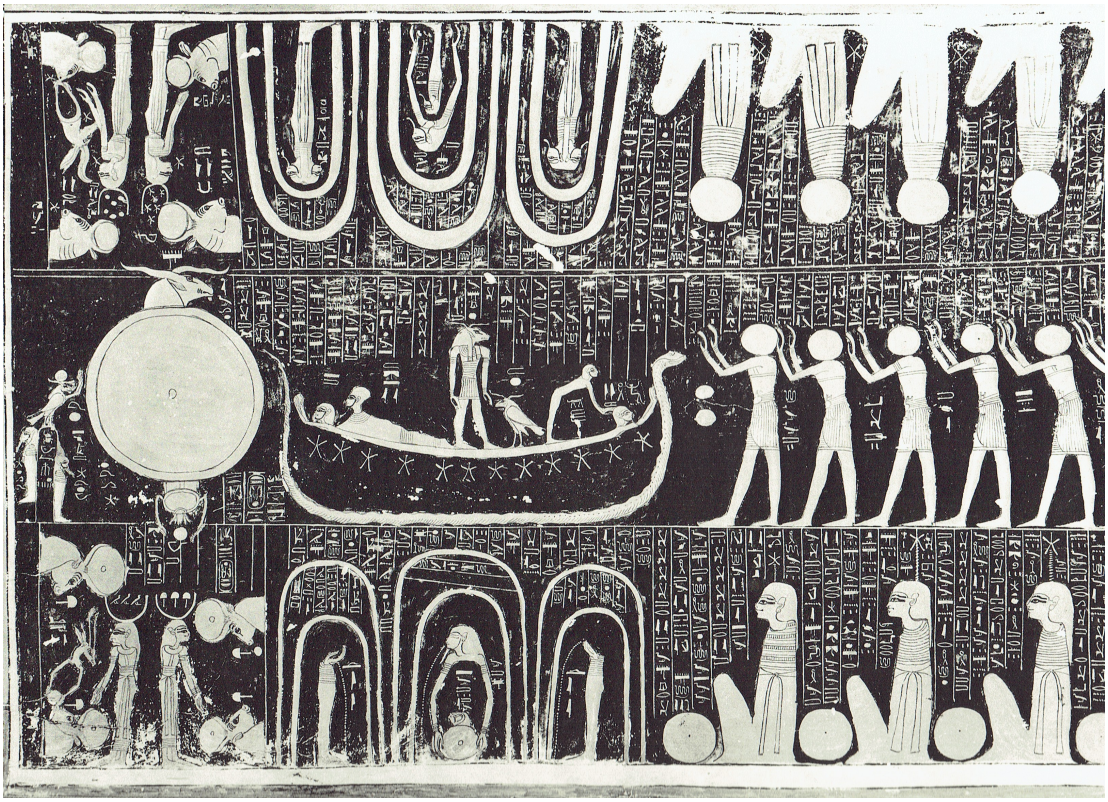


Fig. 37 Astronomical Ceiling Solar Cycle Corridor G
A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plate 179

"During the New Kingdom cryptography appears in texts dealing with solar regeneration, and with the crossing of cosmic boundaries," [67] which explains the use of the cryptographic texts in corridor G both for the ceiling where the accidental breach of boundaries occurred and the placement of the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat directly below it. "Hornung has noted the predominance of cryptography in the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat, the time of solar regeneration in the chamber of Sokar.... The cryptographic texts are also particularly associated with the liminal area of the tomb, the area of crossing the boundary between this world and the next. For this reason they proliferate in the tomb texts at Dra Abu-n-Naga and the royal tombs." [68] The scribes skillfully blended the texts for the magical protection of the chamber necessitated by the breach with those of the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat through the use of cryptography by which *mꜣʿt* is restored at the entrance to Hall H, the Hall of Two Truths (fig. 35).

"The hole [breach] was perhaps the inspiration for the composition of this portion of the treatise, transforming the accidental break into an older tomb from a way of ingress for noxious influences into a special entrance for the protective rays of the sun. The potentially dangerous accident becomes a second 'way of Shu'. The Schutzbild is not a protective covering of the hole as much as a reaffirmation of the power of the sun, and an attempt to turn the accidental break into another passage for the power of the sun into the recesses of the tomb. The hole through which evil snakelike beings might slither [69] becomes a hole through which the snake-legged manifestation of the power of the sun will slither, for the protection of Ramesses VI and his tomb." [70]

"In the central portion of the Schutzbild, four snakes emerge from the sun. In the scene to the right of the central disk in the Schutzbild, the legs of the snake-legged Re-Osiris, and the arms which are the sisters Isis and Nephthys all appear as serpents emerging from the sun (Fig. 38).The serpents emerging from the disk of the sun in the center of the Schutzbild suggest the snakes depicted as if issuing forth from the disk of the sun in the introductory scene to the Great Litany of Re. The introductory scene to the Litany of Re has been interpreted as an emblem of the sun scattering its enemies before it in the Netherworld. ...[71] The snake and the crocodile in the introductory scene to the Litany of Re are not fleeing the sun, but are sent out by it to root out and punish evil in the Netherworld /tomb. [72] The

67 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995) PhD Dissertation, 710.

68 Ibid., 710.

69 E. Hornung, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II (1976), 42 #64, the text to the figure:

> May you bind the enemies of Usermaatre, so that they will not emerge from the earth.

The enemies, emerging from the earth, are apparently snakes.
https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram%3AHornung_Das_Buch_der_Anbetung_des_Re_im_Westen_Sonnenlitanei,_Nach.pdf

70 "The passage describing the sun as *jr bꜣyt* could also be a pun on the hole and the anguipede. BabA can designate the hole of a snake (Wb. I 419, 3), as well as a crack or hole in a home, through which malignant influences might enter... *jr bꜣyt* could then refer to the break in the tomb of Ramesses VI – 'It is this god who makes the chinks.'" J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 398-399 and n. 448 just quoted. www.academia.edu/19068611/ published edition

71 So E. Hornung, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II (1976), 29-30.
https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram%3AHornung_Das_Buch_der_Anbetung_des_Re_im_Westen_Sonnenlitanei,_Nach.pdf

72 For the crocodile punishing wrong-doers and protecting the royal tomb, compare the small seal type N from the tomb of Tutankhamun, showing an enemy pressed down by a rearing and roaring lion with a crocodile standing on its tail before him see N. Reeves, Valley of the Kings (1990) 66, fig. 21.

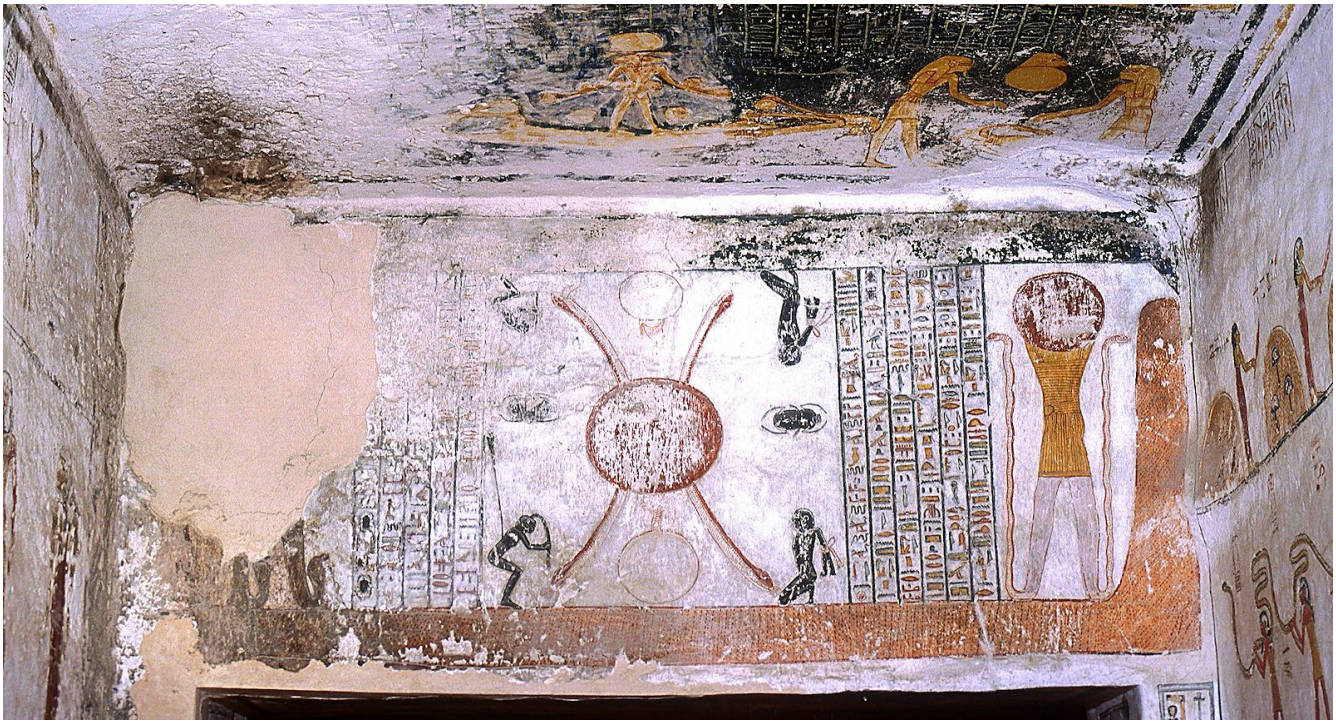


Fig. 38 Ceiling at the Breach "Schutzbild" Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI
Photo courtesy of ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16291, F. Dzikowski 4/2001.

interpretation of the snake and crocodile as evil-punishing emissaries of the sun is supported by the images in the central portion of the Schutzbild. From a small disk above the large, central disk, the head of a crocodile emerges; a snake thrusts its head from the top of another small disk below the large sun. Here, in the corridor G treatise, where fire-breathing serpents spew flames onto bound enemies, the crocodile and the snakes represent the solar deity's aggressive hatred of evil. The final and most persuasive evidence for the meaning of the opening scene of the Litany of Re comes from an apparently thus far ignored scene on the exterior foot end of a Late Period sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum. The scene in question, on the foot of the sarcophagus of the lady Tadikem, CCG 29307, [73] shows a variant of the opening scene in the Litany of Re: from a solar disk containing a scarab and a ram-headed human figure there proceeds a crocodile to the right, and a serpent to the left. Below the crocodile a text specifies the being as *ḫnty sꜣwty sbꜣ jꜣmnty m dꜣt*, 'the *ḫnty*-crocodile (Wb. III 308, 4) who protects the western portal in the Netherworld'. The serpent is described as *wꜣmmw sꜣwty sbꜣ ꜥnḫ m dꜣt*, 'the serpent of roasting flame who protects the portal of the West in the Netherworld'. In this late version of the opening scene of the Litany of Re, the crocodile and the serpent are labeled, and they are each termed a guardian of the portal of the West.

The appellation Schutzbild is retained here, for the fiery power of the snake-legged Re-Osiris at the birth of the morning sun is directed at the sinners burning in the fiery oven of the eastern horizon. The central scene also shows the bound damned punished by the sun and its serpentine emanations. The rightmost annotation to the scene does, however, refer to the form of the great deity as depicted on the dropped portion of the corridor G ceiling – namely, with the two sisters as his arms. The fact that a

73 G. Maspero, H. Gauthier, Sarcophages des epoques persane et ptolemaique II (1939), 108-109, plate 32.
https://archive.org/details/MasperoSarco1939

depiction on the dropped portion of the corridor G ceiling is described in a text of the Schutzbild does not prove that the scene was part of the original plan of the decoration for corridor G [taken from the Osireion], but it does show at least an intention that this scene be understood as a part of the whole corridor G composition." [74] Regardless, it is unlikely that the ceiling decoration of corridor G had to be completely altered from the original plan to accommodate the small hole of the accidental breach. By the use of the cryptographic annotations which are found both below it in the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat and are continued on the ceiling of the adjoining Hall H in the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, (Fig. 18) the blunder has been seamlessly integrated into the flow of the tomb's decoration. What and to what extent it replaced is, of course, indeterminable. However, there are a couple of tantalizing clues. In his in depth study on the ceiling decoration of corridor G, Darnell has cited numerous examples of the close association of the deities in this composition and those of the Litany of Re. [75] In the Osireion, the Litany of Re holds a prominent position where the manifestations of Re and Osiris are depicted on the architraves supporting the ceiling of the Central Hall and where in all likelihood the scenes of the compositions of the Solar cycle and of the Lunar cycle from corridor G would have been originally depicted. But the litany of Re in its standard format is strangely absent from the tomb of Ramesses VI, even though the Litany of Re was a regular feature of the royal tombs. [76] "Portions of the Litany of Re in the tombs of Thutmose III and his vizier Useramun, with the excerpts related to one another. The series of figures to the 'Great Litany' also appear in both tombs, but there are no further illustrations. The entire text, with few omissions, first occurs on the shroud dedicated by Amenhotep II to his father, Thutmose III. The subsequent disappearance of the book is especially striking in the case of Tutankhamun, for all the burial equipment in his tomb has been preserved to us. The book is attested again under Seti I, in whose tomb the figure to the title first appears. From then on, the book was the standard decoration in the first and second corridors of the royal tombs; Ramesses VI was the first to give it up in its entirety, though Ramesses IX and Ramesses X again included extracts. The figures were always reserved for the second corridor, while the text filled the first corridor with a little of it reaching into the second corridor. In the tombs of Seti I and Ramesses II, all the hieroglyphs face the interior of the tomb, whereas from Merenptah on, they face uniformly to the right so that all the columns of the text are reversed. A portion of the figures appears in Merenptah's decoration in the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos, and the complete sequence occurs in the temple built at that site by Ramesses II." [77] Perhaps Ramesses VI was forced to give up the standard form but incorporated its essence in the composition of the ceiling of corridor G modified to some indeterminable degree because of the breach.

The evidence has been presented and believe it to be conclusive. While the architectural layout of the two structures is clearly very different as are their functions, there should be no longer any question about the source and template for the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI, the break with tradition. It is the Osireion and it should be added skillfully adapted for its funerary use rather than its ritual function in the Osireion. With two exceptions that of the standard form of the Litany of Re and the Book of Nut which was replaced by the Book of the Day in order to create Ramesses VI's personal microcosm emphasizing his direct participation in the perpetual circuit of the sun god in his sarcophagus chamber, all other major Underworld Books and Books of the Sky, seven in total

74 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 405-407 and 340. www.academia.edu/19068611/

75 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 236-405. www.academia.edu/19068611/

76 It is even the more so since the Litany of Re was so closely associated with the Amduat texts, which are depicted on the walls of corridor G.

77 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 136. https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianb00horn/mode/2up

comprising the main corpus of the New Kingdom compositions, that are found in the Osireion also appear in the tomb of Ramesses VI. [78] They are with some minor exceptions all arranged in precisely the same order. In addition, both structures begin with an undecorated corridor. They contain the Hall of Two Truths in the same location and utilize the double shrine for the enthroned Osiris as the dividing point between the upper and lower duat.

Additionally as has been demonstrated, "the decoration of the tomb of Ramesses VI differs from that traditionally employed since the time of Seti I [because he chose instead to use the Osireion as his template].... The decoration plan in the tomb of Ramesses IX is, in important parts, a development of that in the tomb of Ramesses VI.... The decoration schemes of the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX correspond as follows:

Scenes at the beginning of the first corridor: in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, the king appears in front of Re in a richly decorated shrine.

Book of Caverns: first-fourth division in the first and second corridor (right), parts of the fifth and sixth division in the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: complete representation of the Book [of Caverns] over the entire right wall in the upper part of the tomb.

Imy-duat [Amduat]: starts with the second division in the second corridor, with the second division and the beginning of the third division in the third corridor. Ramesses VI: first-eleventh division in the fourth and fifth corridors [F and G].

The Book of the Earth: a few scenes in the sarcophagus chamber [including that of the scene still remaining in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion]. Ramesses VI: the entire decoration in the sarcophagus hall consist of [large segments of] this Book.

Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead: Ramesses IX continues with the final text of the spell at the precise point Ramesses VI breaks off [suggesting it was copied from the version of the text in the Osireion].

Spell 126 of the Book of the Dead: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the anteroom.

The astronomical ceiling, including the decans, planets, the northern constellation, and the Ramesside star clock: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the second and third corridors.

The Book of Day and the Book of Night: employed by both Ramesses IX and Ramesses VI on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber.

The scene depicting the resurrection of Osiris: rear wall of the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: ceiling of the anteroom....

For the ceiling of the fourth corridor of Ramesses IX has taken the newly structured scenes from Ramesses VI [corridor F]. They are shown in the center, famed by parts of the Book of Day and the Book of Night, the awakening of the blessed on their mummy biers and the Mehen-snake. In the third

78 There is a brief excerpt from the Book of the Heavenly Cow in the left niche of corridor C. No traces of this composition remains in the Osireion. However, the two end walls of the Second Transverse Hall were undoubtedly decorated but are completely destroyed and the Book of the Heavenly Cow, usually placed in its own separate space may have adorned one of those end walls.

corridor of Ramesses IX the scenes with the appearance of Re and the barges for the journey of the king are missing.

The above comparisons serve to establish the fact that Ramesses IX copied essential elements of his tomb decoration from his predecessors [including compositions from the Osireion]. Parts of his tomb are a continuation of the program newly developed by Ramesses VI [in fact taken from the Osireion]. On the other hand, there exists a surprising number of innovations in the texts and scenes."[79] However, some or perhaps many of these so-called innovations may also have been taken from the Osireion.[80] Roberson has demonstrated this with a solar "litany, consisting of twenty-four addresses by the sun god to the inhabitants of the Duat... The text, attested first in a highly fragmentary, cryptographic copy from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos [in the Second Transverse Hall], appears largely complete in the burial chamber of Ramesses IX", which concerns the union of Re and Osiris.[81]

79 F. Abitz, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX" in C.N. Reeves (ed.) After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes (1992), 168-169. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Reeves

80 Ibid., 170-171 figure 29. In all fairness to Ramesses IX, l.p.h., for example, a unique scene of the king offering a libation before Re has been inserted into the fourth division of the Book of Caverns.

81 J. Roberson, "A Solar Litany from the Tomb of Ramesses IX" JARCE 45 (2009), 227-232. www.academia.edu/627552/